

The University of Chicago

THE USE OF *AUER A* AND *AUER DE*
AS AUXILIARY VERBS IN OLD SPANISH FROM
THE EARLIEST TEXTS TO THE END OF
THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY

A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF
THE DIVISION OF THE HUMANITIES IN CANDIDACY
FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

DEPARTMENT OF ROMANCE LANGUAGES AND LITERATURES

By
JOHN ANTHONY STRAUSBAUGH

Private Edition, Distributed by
THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO LIBRARIES
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS
1936

The University of Chicago

THE USE OF *AUER A* AND *AUER DE*
AS AUXILIARY VERBS IN OLD SPANISH FROM
THE EARLIEST TEXTS TO THE END OF
THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY

A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF
THE DIVISION OF THE HUMANITIES IN CANDIDACY
FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

DEPARTMENT OF ROMANCE LANGUAGES AND LITERATURES

By
JOHN ANTHONY STRAUSBAUGH

Private Edition, Distributed by
THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO LIBRARIES
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

1936



FOREWORD

As the title indicates, the present work aims to make a thorough study of auer a and auer de plus infinitive in Old Spanish to the end of the thirteenth century. For whatever value it may have in connection with the present work, we have also included what evidence we could find of auer plus infinitive. The arrangement of the material follows the plan adopted by Federico Hanssen, Dos Problemas de sintaxis, Santiago de Chile, 1907. In our first chapter, we summarize, in chronological order, what has been previously said about the constructions that here occupy our attention. The second chapter gives a classified list of all the occurrences of auer, auer a, and auer de plus infinitive in the texts that form the basis of our study, a list of which can be found on p. 31. These texts represent the legal, clerical, and artistic prose of the period. Only prose documents and works have been chosen, because, in a study of this type based on metrical texts, it is too easy to err in the direction of unwarranted conclusions. The last chapter discusses auer, auer a, and auer de plus infinitive from the point of view of origin, syntax, and meaning. At the end is a bibliography, together with the abbreviations frequently used, of the critical materials and texts that have in any way contributed to this study.

In the course of this study I have encountered many difficulties, but at no time was I so thoroughly impressed with my incompetence as in the matter of making due acknowledgment for the generous assistance, the unlimited encouragement, and the

constant guidance that I have received at all stages of its progress. To my colleague, Professor John Gordon Stipe of Emory University, I am indebted for directing my attention to the need of such an investigation. I owe a debt of gratitude to Professor T. Atkinson Jenkins of the University of Chicago for guidance and directions as to method in the initial stages of the work. At a time when I had about decided to abandon the undertaking, it was the late Professor C. Carroll Marden of Princeton University who so kindly showed me the way out of my difficulties, and, in his confidence-inspiring manner, expressed such complete assurance in the possible results of such an investigation that I determined to see it through. I am glad to be under obligation to Professor R. S. Boggs of the University of North Carolina for his generosity in allowing me the unrestricted use of his private library; also to the library staff of the University of North Carolina for putting at my disposal the full use of all their facilities. To my wife, I am deeply grateful for reading the manuscript, and the painstaking care with which she checked and, when necessary, corrected every citation. Her firm belief in the successful outcome of the undertaking was a source of lasting inspiration and helped to lighten many a difficulty. My most profound gratitude goes to Professor R. Hayward Keniston of the University of Chicago. To indicate all his contributions would embarrass me in that it would leave little credit to myself. Portions of the manuscript he read more often than I care to tell, for it would be an admission of ineptitude on my own part. To his constant and solicitous encouragement, to his penetrating foresight, and, above all, to his prudent direction and caution, are due, in a very large measure, whatever merits can be claimed for the investigation.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Chapter	Pages
FOREWORD	11-111
TABLE OF CONTENTS.	iv-ix
I. INTRODUCTION.	1-30
Acad., <u>Dicc.</u>	1-2
Nebrija.	3-5
Bello.	5-6
Diez	6-8
Foerster	9
Wiggers.	9-10
Thielmann.	10-13
Cornu.	13-14
Liljequist	14-15
Cuervo	15-16
Salvá.	16-17
Meyer-Lübke.	17-18
Lanchetas.	18-19
Menéndez Pidal	19
Larsen	20-22
Hanssen.	22
Zauner	22-23
Beardsley.	23-25
Rohlfis	25-26
Lenz	26
Acad., <u>Gram.</u>	26-27
Fernández Llera.	27
Aguado	27-28
Richardson	28
Seifert.	28-29
II. CLASSIFIED LIST OF EXAMPLES OF <u>AUER</u> , <u>AUER A</u> , AND <u>AUER</u>	
<u>DE</u>	31-103
List of Texts Used	31
Method of Classification	31-33
A. <u>Glosas Silenses</u>	33
Flectional Auxiliary	
Pluperfect Subjunctive	
<u>auer</u>	
Subordinate Clause	
B. <u>Documentos de tierra de León</u>	34
Flectional Auxiliary	
Preterit	
<u>auer a</u>	
Main Clause	
C. <u>Documentos lingüísticos de España, I: Reino de</u>	
<u>Castilla</u>	34-45
Necessity.	34-39

<u>auer a.</u>	34-37
Main Clause	34-35
Subordinate Clause.	35-37
<u>auer de</u>	38-39
Main Clause	38
Subordinate Clause.	38-39
Future.	39-40
<u>auer a.</u>	39
Subordinate Clause	
<u>auer de</u>	39-40
Main Clause	39
Subordinate Clause.	39-40
Conditional	40
Past Future	
<u>auer a</u>	
Subordinate Clause	
Flectional Auxiliary.	40-45
Present Indicative.	40-41
<u>auer de</u>	41
Subordinate Clause	
Imperfect Indicative.	41-42
<u>auer.</u>	41
Subordinate Clause	
<u>auer a.</u>	41
Subordinate Clause	
<u>auer de</u>	42
Subordinate Clause	
Preterit.	42-43
<u>auer a.</u>	42
Main Clause	
Subordinate Clause	
<u>auer de</u>	42-43
Subordinate Clause	
Future Indicative	43
<u>auer a</u>	
Subordinate Clause	
Imperfect Subjunctive	43-44
<u>auer de</u>	
Subordinate Clause	
Future Subjunctive.	44-45
<u>auer a.</u>	44
Subordinate Clause	
<u>auer de</u>	44-45
Subordinate Clause	
D. <u>Cartulario del Infantado de Covarrubias.</u>	45-47
Necessity	45-46
<u>auer a.</u>	45
Main Clause	
Subordinate Clause	
<u>auer de</u>	45-46
Main Clause	45-46
Subordinate Clause.	46
Conditional	46
Past Future	
<u>auer de</u>	
Subordinate Clause	
Flectional Auxiliary.	46-47
Present Indicative.	46-47
<u>auer de</u>	
Subordinate Clause	

Future Subjunctive.	47
<u>auer de</u>	
Subordinate Clause	
E. Cartulario del Monasterio de Eslonza	47-49
Necessity	47-48
<u>auer</u>	47
Main Clause	
Subordinate Clause	
<u>auer a</u>	47-48
Subordinate Clause	
<u>auer de</u>	48
Subordinate Clause	
Future.	48
<u>auer a</u>	
Main Clause	
Flectional Auxiliary.	48-49
Imperfect Indicative.	48
<u>auer</u>	
Subordinate Clause	
Preterit.	49
<u>auer a</u>	
Subordinate Clause	
<u>auer de</u>	
Subordinate Clause	
F. <u>Biblia medieval romanceada</u>	49-57
Necessity	49-52
<u>auer</u>	49-50
Main Clause	
<u>auer a</u>	50
Main Clause	
Subordinate Clause	
<u>auer de</u>	50-51
Subordinate Clause	
Clause with <u>auer a</u> or <u>auer de</u> to Translate	
<u>Cultus, Officium, or Ministerium</u>	51-52
<u>auer a</u>	51
Subordinate Clause	
<u>auer de</u>	51-52
Subordinate Clause	
Future.	52-55
<u>auer</u>	52
Subordinate Clause	
<u>auer a</u>	52-54
Subordinate Clause	
<u>auer de</u>	54-55
Main Clause	54
Subordinate Clause.	54-55
Conditional	55-56
Past Future	
<u>auer a</u>	55
Subordinate Clause	
<u>auer de</u>	55-56
Subordinate Clause	
Flectional Auxiliary.	56-57
Present Indicative.	56
<u>auer de</u>	
Subordinate Clause	
Imperfect Indicative.	56
<u>auer a</u>	
Subordinate Clause	

Preterit.	56-57
<u>auer a.</u>	56
Main Clause	
Future Subjunctive.	57
<u>auer de</u>	
Subordinate Clause	
Imminence	57
<u>auer de</u>	
Subordinate Clause	
G. <u>Primera Crónica General.</u>	58-103
Necessity	58-69
<u>auer.</u>	58
Main Clause	
<u>auer a.</u>	58-64
Main Clause	58-59
Subordinate Clause.	59-64
<u>auer de</u>	64-69
Main Clause	64-65
Subordinate Clause.	65-69
Future.	69-72
<u>auer a.</u>	69-70
Main Clause	69
Subordinate Clause.	69-70
<u>auer de</u>	71-72
Main Clause	71
Subordinate Clause.	71-72
Conditional	72-80
Past Future	72-80
<u>auer.</u>	72
Subordinate Clause	
<u>auer a.</u>	72-76
Main Clause	72
Subordinate Clause.	72-76
<u>auer de</u>	76-80
Subordinate Clause	
Flectional Auxiliary.	80-101
Present Indicative.	80-81
<u>auer a.</u>	80
Subordinate Clause	
<u>auer de</u>	80-81
Subordinate Clause	
Imperfect Indicative.	81-84
<u>auer a.</u>	81-82
Subordinate Clause	
<u>auer de</u>	82-84
Main Clause	82
Subordinate Clause.	82-84
Preterit.	85-96
<u>auer.</u>	85
Main Clause	
Subordinate Clause	
<u>auer a.</u>	85-92
Main Clause	85-87
Subordinate Clause.	87-92
<u>auer de</u>	92-96
Main Clause	92-95
Subordinate Clause.	95-96
Future Indicative	96-97
<u>auer a.</u>	96-97
Main Clause	96

Subordinate Clause.	96-97
Conditional	97-98
Past Future	97-98
<u>auer a.</u>	97
Main Clause	
Subordinate Clause	
<u>auer de</u>	97-98
Subordinate Clause	
Potential	98
<u>auer a</u>	
Subordinate Clause	
Present Subjunctive	98
<u>auer de</u>	
Subordinate Clause	
Imperfect Subjunctive, <u>-se</u> Form	98-100
<u>auer.</u>	98-99
Subordinate Clause	
<u>auer a.</u>	99
Subordinate Clause	
<u>auer de</u>	99-100
Subordinate Clause	
Imperfect Subjunctive, <u>-ra</u> Form	100-101
<u>auer a.</u>	100
Main Clause	
Subordinate Clause	
<u>auer de</u>	100-101
Main Clause	
Future Subjunctive.	101
<u>auer a</u>	
Subordinate Clause	
Imminence	101-103
<u>auer a.</u>	101-103
Main Clause	101-102
Subordinate Clause.	102-103
<u>auer de</u>	103
Subordinate Clause	

III. DISCUSSION 104-183

<u>auer.</u>	104-112
<u>auer a.</u>	112-119
<u>auer de</u>	116-117, & 120-126
Two or More Dependent Infinitives	127-128
Intervening Complements	128-130
Inversion	130-131
Mood of the Auxiliary	131-132
Necessity	132-139
Future and Conditional.	139-151
Flexional Auxiliary.	152-177
Latin	152-155
Romance Languages	155-163
French.	156-157
Italian	157
Provençal and Catalan	157-158
Spanish	158-163
Function and Position of Auxiliary in Compound	
Tenses.	164-165
Recapitulation.	165-166
Present Indicative.	166-167
Imperfect Indicative.	167-169

Preterit.	169-173
Future Indicative	173
Conditional	173-174
Present Subjunctive	174
Imperfect Subjunctive	174-176
Future Subjunctive.	176
Conclusion.	177
Imminence	177-180
Conclusion.	180-183
BIBLIOGRAPHY.	184-189

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

If we consult the fifteenth and latest edition of the dictionary of the Spanish Academy for information on the meaning and use of haber de and haber a plus infinitive, we find, under haber, a subdivision headed by haber de. Here we read (a) that in this form it is the auxiliary of another verb, (b) that this other verb is in the infinitive, (c) that this infinitive is in the present tense, and, finally, (d) that it lends itself to various concepts. Then follow three examples, the last of which is: has de tener entendido.¹ Nothing is said about haber a plus infinitive, nor about haber plus infinitive, though as frequently happens in the case of many other entries in this dictionary, some of the meanings of haber in Old Spanish are pointed out.² Further examination of this statement reveals the fact that the example has de tener entendido contradicts the assertion that the dependent infinitive is in the present, so that either the example is fictitious or the assertion has no basis. That leaves as the only definite information the fact that haber de is an auxiliary of the dependent infinitive. And to say, simply, that haber de lends itself to the expression of various concepts suggests that the treatment is incomplete.

¹ Acad., Dicc., s. v. haber.

² Acad., Dicc., s. v. haber, and p. XXII; also, Américo Castro, RFE, II (1915), 52-53, and XII (1925), 403.

It is generally recognized that the Academy dictionary is the best all around and the most up-to-date dictionary of the Spanish language available to us. It is the official dictionary; the one that sets the standard as to what constitutes good form and taste in the Spanish language.¹ One finds stated in the opening paragraphs of this work that the fifteenth edition differs more from the fourteenth than any of the preceding editions differed from their immediate predecessors. It is further stated that every item has been carefully examined and that the majority of them appear in this fifteenth edition in a revised form.² And so far as haber is concerned, this claim is well substantiated, for a comparison of this entry in the fourteenth and fifteenth editions gave these results: eight additions treating usages or meanings not mentioned in the fourteenth edition; one illustration deleted and another put in its place; and three cases where a verb in a dependent clause stands in the subjunctive in the fourteenth edition, but in the indicative in the fifteenth. The subdivision haber de is identical in both editions. In view of all these considerations, then, we are face to face with a situation somewhat as follows: either the various concepts of which this dictionary speaks are too subtle to permit strict delineation; or, in case this strict delineation is possible, such a work has never been done; or else, in case it has been done, it is either unreliable or was not accessible to the makers of the dictionary here concerned.

¹Américo Castro, RFE, II (1915), 52 & 55, and XII (1925), 403; Miguel de Unamuno, "La Enseñanza del latín en España," Ensayos, II, Madrid, 1916, pp. 32-33; Francisco Rodríguez Marín, Un Millar de voces castizas y bien autorizadas que piden lugar en nuestro léxico, Madrid, 1920, p. VIII; and Alejandro Quijano, "El flamante diccionario de la Academia," El Consultor Bibliográfico, I (1925), 439.

²Acad., Dicc., p. VII.

After a diligent and, we believe, a thorough search, we have found no complete and thorough-going study of the idiom under discussion at any period of the language. To be sure, a number of competent scholars have devoted time and thought to some phases of the problem. Not one, however, has followed its various ramifications to the very end. While nearly all of the treatments have some points in common, a goodly number of them have something unique about them. And since these unique features receive, for the most part, no mention in succeeding treatments of the subject, it seems to follow logically that those who did devote some attention to the matter have always worked independently, thinking, perhaps, that they were the first to realize that the matter needed analysis or else considered previous comments on the subject not worthy of serious consideration. In the following paragraphs, therefore, we shall make a full exposition, in chronological order, of our findings on the treatment of the problem to date.

In 1492, Elio Antonio de Nebrija (Lebrija) published, at Salamanca, a work entitled Gramatica de la lengua castellana. Aside from the fact that this is the first grammar of the Spanish language in Spanish, the author's place in humanistic studies is so well known and so solidly founded that respect for his statements is inevitable. Unfortunately, however, our idiom is nowhere in this work the subject under discussion. Yet, indirectly, the author throws considerable light on it. One of the original contributions of this work on the Spanish language is the accurate analysis of the morphology of the future and conditional tenses.¹ Among other things, Nebrija tells us that io amaré, tu amarás is equivalent to io e de amar, tu as de amar, and that io amaria, io

¹Blanc, p. 360; Nebrija, p. xliii.

leeria is equivalent to io avia de amar, io avia de leer.¹ In

¹Nebrija, p. 100, lines 23-30. This interpretation of Nebrija's words may be open to question. In the first place, the statement occurs in a chapter that bears the title: Delos circunloquios del verbo. The chapter deals with the non-synthetic verbal formations. The author, we should suppose then, is speaking primarily about the way of making up these forms. Secondly, we must not forget that Nebrija complained at one time of the poverty of the Spanish language in the matter of grammatical terminology (op. cit., p. xli, note 157). With reference to io amaré, etc., he says: 'io amaré . . . vale tanto como 'io e de amar''. . . Clearly the crux of the matter hinges on the interpretation of vale tanto como. We render it 'is equivalent to,' and we take it to mean that the forms are equivalent not only in the fact that both use the present tense of habere plus infinitive, but also that they are equivalent in meaning. In view of the clarity and precision of this grammar as a whole, we feel that if there were any limitations or restrictions to be made in the interpretation of this vale tanto como, so conscientious a scholar as Nebrija would have pointed them out. We also find him using haber de plus infinitive to define the function of the future tense, and in one place he writes: dezimos 'io amaré' como si dixessemos 'io e de amar' (p. 163, lines 10-11). As further evidence in support of our interpretation of vale tanto como we have the author's own use of haber de plus infinitive. It occurs a number of times throughout the gramática. He used it to express objective (absolute) necessity, subjective necessity (mild or moral obligation), the future as well as the conditional tenses, and a few times simply as a flectional auxiliary to indicate the mood, tense, person and number of the infinitive that follows. Here is what we think is a complete as well as a classified list of the occurrences of this idiom throughout the work, i. e., Gramatica de la lengua castellana, ed. González Llubera; expressing objective necessity--p. 24, line 10; 37, 11; 37, 25; 70, 20; 76, 30; 87, 32; 115, 14; 116, 7; 116, 13; 118, 19; 149, 8; 161, 5; 161, 26; 163, 11 (second instance); 165, 33; 166, 15; 168, 11; expressing subjective necessity--p. 13, line 16; 19, 22; 33, 13; 42, 9; 42, 14; 42, 22; 45, 4; 48, 20; 48, 27; 54, 25; 56, 20; 56, 22; 56, 30; 118, 14; 131, 8; 141, 19; (doubtful case--61, 23); expressing the future or conditional tense--p. 23, line 24; 46, 24; 54, 4; 61, 11; 61, 14; 61, 18; 83, 33; 89, 12; 98, 31; 100, 25 (two instances); 100, 29; 100, 30; 137, 10; 150, 6; 157, 1-2; 161, 28; 163, 11 (first instance); (doubtful case--19, 23); used as a flectional auxiliary--p. 13, line 22; 48, 21; 94, 26; 117, 6; 120, 23; 157, 12; (doubtful case--115, 5-6). In two instances, to emphasize and, probably, to indicate clearly the force of necessity, he has recourse to the adverbial phrases de necesidad and por fuerza: alas cuales (bozes) de necesidad an de responder veinte y seis figuras (p. 24, line 10); por que enel latin, en los lugares pares donde se hazen asientos principales, por fuerza an de tener (estos versos) el pie que llamamos iambo (p. 64, line 25). We may note here that in both of these instances the adverbial phrase used immediately precedes the auxiliary form of aver, whereas in the earlier language, as we shall note below, such adverbial phrases often immediately followed the auxiliary. From this we would infer that to Nebrija aver de plus infinitive is a unit that must not be broken up by interposed phrases, while the earlier writers in the texts that we shall study shared no such feeling.

another place we read: el venidero del indicativo dize se por rodeo del presente del infinitivo y del presente del indicativo deste verbo 'e, as'; y assi dezimos 'io amaré,' como si dixessemos 'io e de amar.'¹ To these statements we must add others in which aver de plus infinitive is used in defining the function of the future tense, namely: los tiempos son cinco: . . . Venidero se llama enel qual alguna cosa se a de hazer, como diziendo 'io amare;² . . . venidero, por el qual demostramos que alguna cosa se a de hazer;³ ¿Qual es [el tiempo] venidero? Por el qual demostramos que algo se ha de hazer.⁴ One can throw the present infinitive into the future, Nebrija says, by using with it a verb signifying hope or intention, a verb whose action is to be carried out in the future, like espero leer, pienso oir, entiendo oir.⁵ On the other hand, one can also write the future of the infinitive thus: aver de amar.⁶

Andrés Bello, in the Análisis ideológica de los tiempos de la conjugación castellana, Valparaíso, 1841, makes a rather searching investigation of haber de plus infinitive. Primarily, it expresses necessity or duty. But it is also used with the sole object of indicating a future that is posterior or subsequent to the time or tense of the auxiliary haber: ha de comer is a future; había or hubo de comer is a conditional; habrá de comer is what he labels a pos-futuro. In the sentence se esperaba que las elecciones habían de principiar al día siguiente, the construction

¹Nebrija, p. 163, lines 8-11.

²Nebrija, p. 98, lines 30-31.

³Nebrija, p. 150, lines 5-6.

⁴Nebrija, Introducciones latinas . . . contrapuestas al romance al latin, Salamanca, ca. 1486, fol. e 8 r^o (?), quoted from Nebrija, p. 198, under the editor's comment to p. 98, line 21 of the text of the Gramática.

⁵Nebrija, p. 101, lines 28-31, & p. 168, lines 18-21.

⁶Nebrija, p. 157, lines 1-2.

habían de principiar = principiarían. Likewise, in reuniéndose el día primero de Marzo los electores, habrán de verificarse las elecciones el domingo siguiente, the form habrán de verificarse shows that the elections are subsequent to the meeting of the electors, which meeting is to take place in the future. In other words, it is a future that is subsequent to a future. Beyond this, it is also used to express probability, as well as the contrary-to-fact concept. As an illustration of the contrary-to-fact concept, he gives this example: La sociedad sería un nombre vano si los infractores de las meyes [read: leyes] no hubiesen de ser castigados.¹

Friedrich Diez completed the manuscript of the third edition of his grammar of the Romance languages in 1869.² In his discussion of habere (tenere) ad plus infinitive, he points out that [classical] Latin habeo dicere expresses only possibility: nihil habeo dicere = quod dicam. Medieval Latin shows the same meaning for this idiom, as well as the force that habere ad plus infinitive has in the Romance languages, namely, that of expressing objective or subjective necessity in an active sense (the passive of it is esse ad plus infinitive), corresponding closely to the Latin second or passive periphrastic conjugation, with the agent in the dative case: Italian ho a scrivere = scribendum est mihi. German haben zu plus infinitive corresponds to the Romance habere ad plus infinitive. Like the passive periphrastic conjugation in Latin, habere ad plus infinitive forms a complete peri-

¹Bello, Análisis ideológica, pp. 89-92, §§175-179. We have followed, substantially, the clear and succinct statement of this question in Bello-Cuervo, p. 186, §§704-706. It contains all the essentials and adds nothing new. Cuervo accepts it without comment.

²Diez, p. IV. We are quoting from the fifth edition, Bonn, 1882, which, like the fourth edition, is simply a reprint of the third (Ibid., p. IV).

phrastic conjugation, including all the tenses. In Spanish, the idiom in question is haber de plus infinitive: se ha de saber = sciendum est; le habia de entregar = erat eum traditurus;¹ or

¹In the matter of clarity of expression, Diez usually leaves nothing to be desired (Gaston Paris, "Friedrich Diez," in Kr. Nyrop (editor), *Philologie française*, ed. 2, Paris, 1915, p. 6). What does he mean here? Meyer-Lübke (III, §329), discussing haber de plus infinitive in Spanish, uses this one as well as others of Diez' examples without special comment. The bare statement: "Neben habere a steht habere de in demselben Sinne der Notwendigkeit," apparently covers the case satisfactorily. Now at the beginning of the paragraph in which this citation appears, Diez states that the idiom expresses objective or subjective necessity and corresponds to the Latin passive periphrastic conjugation. In this instance, however, he uses the active periphrastic conjugation to translate the Spanish citation. Presumably, he did so in the interest of accuracy and clearness. There is no indication that the Latin translation does not render the Spanish citation fully and accurately in every respect; nor is there any indication that the Latin is to be taken in any but the usual sense. The obvious conclusion is that when he states that the idiom expresses objective or subjective necessity and corresponds closely to the passive periphrastic conjugation of Latin he is speaking of the Romance languages as a whole, and that here he is pointing out a case in which Spanish deviates from that usage. Nevertheless, he points out, in other Romance languages, other instances of exceptions to the general usage and in every case throughout the whole discussion he likewise points out the variation and then gives examples.

Now the active periphrastic conjugation has what the Germans call the "soll-Bedeutung," that is, it does, at times, express duty or moral obligation, or, as Diez puts it, subjective necessity. This, however, is purely a secondary usage, while its primary and usual function is to express an immediate future, to state an act that is intended, one that is on the point of being carried out, or one that is already in the course of being carried out. In the spoken Latin of the post-classical period, as well as in late Latin, -urus sum has the force of a simple future, and -urus eram was a past future or conditional (Stolz-Schmalz, *Lateinische Grammatik*, ed. 5 von Manu Leumann und Joh. Bapt. Hofmann, München, 1928, p. 556, §150, a). Diez frequently quotes examples from Medieval Latin texts and possibly his knowledge of Medieval Latin or the fact that he had recently read a Medieval Latin text or was quoting from various Medieval Latin texts in this discussion may have influenced him when he wrote erat eum traditurus. On the other hand, if he did not have in mind expressing a simple past future, but rather subjective necessity, the constructions with debeo or oportet would have been clearer and more decisive (Gildersleeve's *Latin Grammar*, ed. 3, revised and enlarged by B. L. Gildersleeve and Gonzalez Lodge, Boston, 1907, p. 169, §255, Remark). At any rate, when we come upon a phrase in any language, if there is no context to guide us, though some may object that in this case we have a whole page of context, we give it the interpretation that it most commonly has. In this particular instance, then, we translate erat eum traditurus by "he was about to give him up (surrender him)." This is in

tener de plus infinitive: tengo de escribir. But tener de vivir corresponds to the Italian avere da vivere, the sense of which is strikingly clear in non hanno da vivere = non habent unde vivant, equivalent to non hanno niente da vivere. In Old Spanish both a and de were used with haber in this sense of expressing necessity. In the fifteenth century, Santillana uses only haber de plus infinitive.¹ For the future active participle in Latin, Spanish often uses habiendo de amar; for the future passive participle habiendo de ser amado.²

Regarding the intrusion of the preposition ad into habere plus infinitive, Diez observes that the infinitive introduced by a preposition replaced in general the Latin gerundive or the so-called future passive participle and that this substitution took place early in the Medieval period. The earliest example of habere ad plus infinitive that he quotes belongs to the year 721: per manus nostras recipimus vel ad recipere habemus Bréq. [= Diplomata, chartae, epistolae et alia monumenta ad res franciscas spectantia ediderunt L. G. O. Feudrix et F. J. de Porte du Theil, Parisiis, 1791³], 433a, an example clearly drawn from a French document. On the other hand, the gerund following the preposition in place of the infinitive is a frequent construction. Habere ad with a gerund, as ad laborandum abuit, A. D. 823, comes up repeatedly in Medieval Latin texts.⁴

keeping with the usual clarity in the writings of Diez. Though Diez takes pains to point out specifically, in his own language, all other deviations of habere ad (de) plus infinitive from its function as an expression of necessity, he must have felt that erat eum traditurus was sufficiently clear in itself. Later on we shall endeavor to show that there should be no objection to this interpretation of the phrase in question.

¹Diez, pp. 935-936.

²Diez, pp. 956-957.

³Diez, p. XIII, s. v. Bréq.

⁴Diez, pp. 922-923, & 936.

Paul Foerster, in his Spanische Sprachlehre, Berlin, 1880, after discussing the future and conditional tenses both as to their formation and use, goes on to say that haber de or tener que, older and less frequent haber á, seldom tener de or tener by itself, followed by an infinitive, are, in essence, a second future formation, which, however, has in it the idea of necessity. In other words, it is a future of necessity. And yet, quite regardless of the fact that all these locutions are expressions of necessity, haber de plus infinitive has, at times, the force of a future, pure and simple: he de ver = veré.¹

Dr. Julius Wiggers published the second edition of his Grammatik der spanischen Sprache at Leipzig, 1884. Dr. Wiggers wrote a practical grammar; historical discussions are used only when they are clearly helpful or distinctly essential to a better and fuller comprehension of modern Spanish.² Consequently, haber a plus infinitive found no place in this work. As for haber de plus infinitive, he states that it is a circumlocution expressing duty or obligation, or necessity. Beyond this, he points out, it is customary to include in the paradigms of the Spanish conjugation a future of the infinitive as well as a future of the gerund, written respectively: haber de amar and habiendo de amar. But since haber de plus infinitive is a circumlocution expressing obligation or necessity, it follows that it is likewise a circumlocution of future time. It is an error, therefore, to state that as a circumlocution of future time it is limited to the infinitive and the gerund. Indeed, it is an expression of future time throughout its entire conjugation. Unfortunately, he gives but two examples that really help to clarify this point: se recoge

¹Foerster, pp. 365-366, 411, & 416.

²Wiggers, p. III.

a la soledad, donde no le ha de faltar el sustento = er flüchtete
(sic) sich in die Einsamkeit, wo ihm der Unterhalt nicht fehlen
wird; temo no ha de llegar el día = ich fürchte (ich sehe voraus),
dass der Tag kommen wird (Cerv. D. Q. 2, 67). Due to the unhappy
mistranslation of the first verb of the first example, a great
part of its otherwise convincing authority is lost. The auxiliary
haber, we note, is in the present tense in both cases and one re-
grets that Wiggers gives no examples, together with **their** transla-
tions, showing the interpretation of haber de plus infinitive as
an expression of future time with haber in the other tenses.¹

To Nebrija goes the distinction of being the first one to
record the correct morphological explanation of the Romance future
and conditional.² To Thielmann goes the distinction of having
made the richest and most comprehensive collection of the materi-
als needed to build substantially the structure that bridges the
gap between the first written occurrence of habere plus infiniti-
ve, in the writings and letters of Cicero's youthful days,³ to
the fact recorded by Nebrija. Thielmann published his work in
1885 under the title of "Habere mit dem Infinitiv und die Ent-
stehung des romanischen Futurums." He found that habere used
with an infinitive was a popular idiom and that originally it ex-
pressed ability.⁴ More than a century later, the writings of
Seneca the Elder, who was born in Spain, provide our first occur-
rence in writing of habere plus infinitive expressing necessity.⁵
At all times, in the Latin texts studied by Thielmann, the infin-

¹Wiggers, pp. 122, 137-138, 238, & 259. Bello, as we
have seen above (pp. 5-6), explains this particular point in
greater detail.

²Blanc, p. 360.

³Thielmann, pp. 51-52.

⁴Thielmann, pp. 50-51, 55, & 57.

⁵Thielmann, pp. 56 & 65.

itive could either precede or follow habere. Beginning with Tertullian, however, in the majority of cases where habere precedes the infinitive, it expresses ability, whereas in the majority of cases where habere follows the infinitive, the force is that of necessity.¹ Eventually, the force of ability lost out in the struggle for supremacy, though habere expressing ability appears, sporadically, at all periods of Medieval Latin. It played no part in the evolution of the Romance future and conditional tenses.² As an expression of necessity, postposition of the auxiliary became more and more general, though, be it noted, never to the entire exclusion of the pre-position of the auxiliary. For a time, after habere plus infinitive expressing ability had disappeared, for all practical purposes, habere plus infinitive expressing necessity had the field to itself. But it soon begins to show the wear and tear of constant usage. The force of necessity begins to weaken. Moreover, while the force of necessity in habere plus infinitive was disappearing, the need for a way of expressing necessity in no uncertain terms continued to exist. It was provided for, generally, by habere ad plus infinitive, though in modern Spanish and in modern Portuguese we find in its place habere de plus infinitive.³ This substitution only served to hasten the ultimate disappearance of the force of necessity in habere plus infinitive. From the beginning the nature of the idiom was such that whatever action it called into play, such action was necessarily subsequent to the existence of the necessity for such action. This, when interpreted, means that once the modal force of the locution had disappeared, it left the skeleton

¹Thielmann, p. 80.

²Thielmann, pp. 50, 61 & 64.

³Thielmann, p. 200.

with a purely temporal force facing toward the future. In view of these facts, we are not surprised to find that, in some localities, habere ad plus infinitive has followed the path of habere plus infinitive. In Italian we find cases where avere a plus infinitive is simply a circumlocution for the future tense. Wallachian, in former times, had a future formed by habere ad plus infinitive, while at the present time its future is composed of velle plus infinitive.¹

Thielmann observes, further, that in all languages man has long been in the habit of using the present for the future. This is particularly true in conversation. There is no period when Latin does not show this usage.² Had this practice been wholly satisfactory, there would have been no room for a strictly future tense form. On the other hand, habeo plus infinitive as a solution of the difficulty of expressing the future tense cannot have been wholly satisfactory either, for man persisted in using the present for the future. And what is more, we presently find some writers using habeo plus habere plus infinitive, that is, the future of the auxiliary plus the infinitive instead of the present of the auxiliary plus the infinitive, to express future time. Thielmann considers this a case of what Menéndez Pidal, a good many years later, designates as ultracorreption.³ Beyond this, he cites a few examples to show that habere had become, in this construction of habere plus infinitive, a mere flectional auxiliary: habe[t] intrare = intra[t]; habet praecedere = praece-
det; adimplere habuisset = adimplisset;⁴ and Milanese cantaréss <

¹Thielmann, pp. 167-168.

²Thielmann, pp. 163-164.

³Thielmann, pp. 83-85.

⁴Thielmann, pp. 196-197.

cantare + habuisssem.¹

Another point that Thielmann makes is that from the beginning we find, frequently, that in the construction of habere plus infinitive, habere = μέλλω = to be about to, to be on the point of doing something. This he calls an emphatic way of expressing the future. However, he notes that this force of habere weakened and was finally lost.²

Of capital importance to us is the fact that Thielmann's study has very few citations from Spanish writers. This regrettable situation could not be avoided because Spain lagged far behind other countries in the publication of its documents.³

Another work of major importance to our investigation is J. Cornu, "Recherches sur la conjugaison espagnole au XIII^e et XIV^e siècle," published in 1886. Cornu says that the fusion or union of the infinitive and the auxiliary in the case of the future and conditional is by this time completed. But this is true only when the auxiliary, necessarily in the present or imperfect indicative, immediately follows the infinitive, that is, not separated from it by intervening pronouns. On the other hand, there is no fusion when the auxiliary, regardless of tense, precedes the infinitive, nor when the auxiliary following the infinitive is in any tense save the present or imperfect indicative.⁴

¹Thielmann, p. 97. Diez (p. 490) had previously indicated the morphology of Milanese cantaréss.

²Thielmann, pp. 83, 167, 176, 178, 179, 183, 198.

³Thielmann, p. 201.

⁴Cornu means, of course, the contracted forms of the present and imperfect indicative of habere. Two of his examples, both of them in the imperfect, show that when the full form is used, though immediately following the infinitive, there is no fusion:

Prophetaba la cosa que avenir avie. S. Dom. 284.

Cuemo fazer avien, estavam ya falados, Alex. 1537.

Now in classic Latin, and no less in late and low Latin, the auxiliary habere preceded or followed the infinitive indifferently. Remnants of this same construction are preserved in Old Portuguese, and, in order to explain the fifteen examples that he cites, in all of which habere precedes the infinitive without a preposition, Cornu thinks that it must be admitted in Old Spanish. These examples are taken from the Cantar de Mio Cid, Berceo, the Libro de Alixandre, the Poema de Fernan Gonçalez, and Juan Ruiz. In addition, he collects from the works of Berceo, the Libro de Alixandre, and the Poema de Fernan Gonçalez fifteen hypermetric verses, stating that the easiest and most likely way to correct them is to reestablish this old construction with habere preceding the infinitive, i. e., striking out the preposition a or de, as the case may be. It is his opinion that these forms seemed antiquated to the later scribes, who accordingly inserted the preposition a or de between the auxiliary habere and the infinitive, or, as in the case of Loores 44, the scribe wrote:

Lo que debia él dar, viene de mi á reçebir,

while the manuscript he was copying presumably had:

Lo que debia él dar, de mi a reçebir.¹

The year 1886 likewise offers another work that concerns

¹Cornu, pp. 225-228. These fifteen hypermetric verses, for which Cornu suggests the corrections above indicated, come from the Poema de Fernan Gonçalez, the Libro de Alixandre, and two works of Berceo, Loores de Nuestra Sennora and la Estoria de Sennor Sant Millan. The only one to be published in a critical edition since 1886 is the Poema de Fernan Gonçalez, texto crítico, con introducción, notas y glosario por C. Carroll Marden, Baltimore, 1904. The critical edition of the Libro de Alixandre is based on the Paris manuscript, the whereabouts of which were not known in 1886 (El Libro de Alixandre, manuscrit de Paris, . . . publié par Alfred Morel-Fatio, Dresden, 1906, pp. VII. & XVII-XVIII; and A. Morel-Fatio, "Recherches sur le texte et les sources du Libro de Alexandre," Romania, IV (1875), 25). Five of these fifteen hypermetric verses come from the Poema de Fernan Gonçalez, one involving the preposition a, four the preposition de. Investigation reveals that Marden adopted every one of these suggested corrections.

our problem, Gustaf Liljequist, Infinitiven i det fornspanska Lagspråket, Lund, 1886. Regarding this study, F. Courtney Tarr quite justly remarks: "Liljequist's work contains a minimum of explanatory discussion, the author's chief concern being the systematic presentation of his material."¹ Liljequist, in his comments on aver plus infinitive, aver a plus infinitive, and aver de plus infinitive, states that aver is a transitive verb, that the infinitive following it functions as its object and, therefore, has the same subject as aver, and that it expresses obligation or necessity. Sometimes we find aver as the object of aver an infinitive introduced by por, but this construction has the same significance as aver de plus infinitive, "depending upon the effect of its use as a predicate."²

The year 1893 brings us the first two, and so far the only two, volumes of R. J. Cuervo, Diccionario de construcción y régimen de la lengua castellana. Under the preposition a he tells us that haber a plus infinitive is used to express future time, necessity, and the negation which the future suggests with respect to the present, i. e., to indicate an action not yet effected. In this last sense it has the significance of por plus infinitive: está por hacer.³

The preposition de plus infinitive forms a phrase which corresponds to adjectives in -able, -ible, with the sense of "worthy of," just as if you used digno with it: cosa de envidiar

¹F. Courtney Tarr, MLN, XXXVIII (1923), 106.

²Liljequist, pp. 14-15, 41-42, 57, & 79-80. In this last statement, clarity seems to be sacrificed to brevity. The author's words are: "... beroende på inverkan från dess användning såsom predikativ." In our next paragraph, we shall note that Cuervo explains what Liljequist apparently had in mind.

³Cuervo, Dicc., I, p. 26, col. 1, s. v. a--período anteclassico, notas históricas, c.

= cosa envidiable o digno de ser envidiada.¹ Now the verbs haber and tener plus de plus infinitive form a special conjugation in which the sense of "worthy of" gives way to that of "necessity, determination." Cuervo supposes that this construction had its inception in statements like he o tengo una carta de escribir, meaning "I have a letter which deserves to be or ought to be written," hence he o tengo de escribir una carta, in which carta becomes the object of escribir and has the position that the object occupies with ser de plus infinitive: es de ver un poeta; sería de ver a los próceres.²

The twelfth and latest edition of the grammar by Vicente Salvá was published in 1897. The title of his grammar, Gramática de la lengua castellana según ahora se habla, indicates clearly that here the treatment is limited to haber de plus infinitive. The idiom expresses necessity, so that habías de acudir a la cita is identical to tenías que acudir a la cita. However, when the auxiliary haber is in the preterit, he finds that the idiom has one of three senses: firstly, it may express necessity and be equivalent to verse obligado or tener que; secondly, its force may be that of deber de or ser regular que: hubo de propagarse en aquel tiempo la ilustración = regularmente se propagaría; lastly, the construction may be equivalent to estar a pique: Esta escala hubo de malograr la expedición (sic), porque suscitándose . . . un furioso motin, hubiera tenido acaso funestas consecuencias, si

¹Cuervo, Dicc., II, p. 786, col. 2, s. v. de, 14, j, γ.

²Cuervo, Dicc., II, p. 787, col. 1, s. v. de, 14, j, γ, γγ. Cuervo does not treat haber plus infinitive. This, we should suppose, would come under the entry haber, which is in the part of the Diccionario that has never been published. Nor does he give us any further information in his Apuntaciones críticas. In this work (ed. 6, Paris, 1914, pp. 297-301, §413), he discusses haber de menester and mentions, incidentally (p. 298), that haber de plus infinitive is commonly used to express necessity.

Bethencourt, etc. (Viera, Historia de Canarias, Vol. I, p. 295).¹

Wilhelm Meyer-Lübke published the third volume of his Grammatik der romanischen Sprachen in 1899. He finds habere ad plus infinitive in all of the Romance languages and concludes that it must be a pre-Romance creation. Originally, this idiom expressed purpose or goal, but subsequently it approaches very closely to the more general sense of the future. Indeed, in Rumanian and Sardinian, and perhaps elsewhere, it developed into nothing more nor less than a purely future tense. On the other hand, in other Romance languages, the original force of purpose was displaced by that of subjective or objective necessity. In Spanish, and this means Old Spanish for auer a plus infinitive did not survive beyond the fifteenth century, auer a plus infinitive is frequently almost a future tense: habré algunas burlas aqui á enxerir (Hita 35); fijo, se de bona ventura ovierdes de seer, O si en este siglo algo as a valer, En muchas grandes coy-tas te avras a veer Et seso e esforcio te será mucho mester (Alej. 67).

In the two western languages, Meyer-Lübke means Spanish and Portuguese, auer de plus infinitive existed by the side of auer a plus infinitive from the beginning. In the fifteenth century, auer a plus infinitive is completely crowded off the field by auer de plus infinitive. Auer de plus infinitive, like auer a plus infinitive, expresses subjective or objective necessity. Later it frequently expresses possibility: maestro albricia te tengo de demandar (Appoll. 320).² In modern Spanish, it is, in

¹Vincente Salvá, Gramática de la lengua castellana, ed. 12, Paris, 1897, pp. 206-207.

²While his sole example here is tener de plus infinitive, it must be remembered that it occurs in the discussion of auer de plus infinitive. Since he does not say that the statement applies only to tener de plus infinitive, it is clear that auer de plus infinitive is included.

many instances, practically a future tense: sé que V. está firme como un roble, por lo cual me prometo, que ha de dar conmigo largos paseos á caballo y á pie y ha de acompañarme á cazar perdices, ... A pesar de nuestra edad hemos de emplearnos todavía en algunas cosas harto infantiles (J. Valera Com. Mend. 31). Nevertheless, the original force of necessity is often present in haber de plus infinitive even today.¹

The year 1900 brings us to Rufino Lanchetas, Gramática y vocabulario de las obras de Gonzalo de Berceo. We note, first of all, that Berceo uses auer a plus infinitive far more often than auer de plus infinitive. Auer a or de plus infinitive is a periphrasis of the future, expressing necessity or obligation, or simple futurity:² El que el mundo todo ave de gobernar (Mil., 635); Las alas de virtudes nos an a levar (Sac., 183). Frequently, the idiom is equivalent to tengo que or tengo de as used in the Spanish of today.³ Beyond this, Lanchetas points out that the Latin

¹Meyer-Lübke, Gram., III, §§328-329.

²Lanchetas, pp. 863 & 929. The word futurición, which I assume to mean "futurity," is not in the dictionaries. The context, however, makes clear the author's intention:

el verbo haber [i. e., in the construction haber a or de plus infinitive] se emplea para formar la perífrasis de futuro, expresando ya una necesidad ú obligación, algo que hay que cumplir, ya una simple futurición (p. 929); su significación es la de un futuro de necesidad ú obligación, y muchas veces [read: veces] expresa simplemente la futurición (p. 863).

³Lanchetas, p. 863. This would be clear enough if we knew the meaning of tengo de plus infinitive in contemporary Spanish. According to the Spanish Academy, it is used only in the first person singular of the present indicative and usually implies a threat (Gram., §90; Dicc., s. v. tener, 24). Bello does not limit it to the first person singular of the present indicative, but gives it a complete conjugation, just like haber de plus infinitive. Yet his only example is in the first person singular of the present indicative: tengo de salir. As to its force, he says that it indicates or expresses a decided determination of the will, a resolution (Bello-Guervo, §§709-710). Lenz says that it took the place of haber de to express the idea of obligation with greater force, but that modern Spanish prefers tengo que leer to tengo de leer (Lenz, pp. 413-414, §267). Ramsey (A Text-

periphrastic conjugations, formed with the participles in -urus and -dus, did not survive in Spanish. In their place we have auer a or de plus infinitive.¹

Menéndez Pidal published the first volume of his critical edition and study of the Cantar de Mio Cid in 1908; the second and third in 1911. In this frequently considered the oldest monument of Spanish letters both haber a and haber de plus infinitive occur many times. The preposition is rarely lacking; los que han lidiar 3523 is probably the only trustworthy case. The poet makes no distinction in the use of these two locutions. They form a periphrastic expression in the active voice; both of them express necessity, obligation, and are equivalent to deber de plus infinitive. However, when the auxiliary haber stands in the preterit, the force of necessity is absent. In this case the locution expresses a past action that is subsequent to the past time of the narration in which it appears. In this use, Menéndez Pidal calls it una perífrasis del pretérito perfecto.²

book of Modern Spanish, ed. 3, New York, n. d.), it seems, does not recognize the existence of this idiom in the language of today. And Eva Seifert, "Haber y Tener como expresiones de posesión en español," RFE, XVII (1930), 363-364, found no instances of tener de plus infinitive later than the seventeenth century.

¹ Lanchetas, p. 929.

² Menéndez Pidal, Cantar, I, 351-352, §161, 2, & II, 488, s. v. auer. In this treatment of haber a and haber de plus infinitive, Menéndez Pidal uses language that is not as decisive as the matter demands. There is good authority for considering deber de plus infinitive as an expression of probability. According to Bello, debe de pensar is equivalent to es probable que piensa (sic) (Bello-Cuervo, §707). Cuervo makes no comment on this section, and, consequently, accepts it as correct. This is borne out by his vigorous attack on the use of deber de plus infinitive as an expression of obligation in his Apuntaciones críticas, ed. 6, Paris, 1914, pp. 296-297, §412). Meyer-Lübke (Gram., III, p. 349, §329) and the Spanish Academy (Dicc., p. 389, s. v. deber (second entry), 4, & Gram., p. 55, §91) support this view. On the other hand, Diez (p. 927, note 1) and Hanssen (Gram., p. 303, §705) maintain that this rule is altogether artificial and that even the best writers disregard it. In the older language, Cuervo (Apuntaciones críticas, ed. 6, Paris, 1914, p. 297, §412) admits that the two were synonymous. Marden, apparently, found

The next study to engage our attention is J. K. Larsen, Studier over oldspanske Konjunktiver, København og Kristiania, 1910. The work is based on texts of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Both haber a plus infinitive and haber de plus infinitive are used to express necessity, inevitability, and can be used interchangeably. At times, to show the force of necessity more precisely, the adverbial phrase por fuerza is used with this construction, just as is done in modern Spanish. Larsen cites a few instances in which forçada mente takes the place of por fuerza.¹

When the auxiliary haber stands in the present, the construction haber a or haber de plus infinitive is often equivalent to a future tense, and when the auxiliary stands in the imperfect,

nothing wrong with Menéndez Pidal's statement, for in his edition of the Libro de Apolonio, II, 78, he repeats that auer a or auer de plus infinitive are equivalent to deber de plus infinitive. Ordinarily, too, the pretérito perfecto is the tense formed by the preterit of the auxiliary haber plus the perfect passive participle (Bello-Cuervo, §636; Lenz, p. 442, §295, & p. 464, §313), though Menéndez Pidal agrees with Bello in calling the tense thus formed the ante-pretérito (Cantar, I, p. 288, §100, & p. 356, §164, 3). In the grammar of the Spanish Academy (p. 65), the term is used to designate what we customarily call the preterit. In describing the use of this so-called pretérito perfecto, Menéndez Pidal writes: El pretérito quo rigiendo a un infinitivo con de ó a, expresa, no la necesidad, sino un acaecimiento subsiguiente ó futuro respecto al tiempo pretérito de una narración . . . (Cantar, I, p. 351, §161, 2). Bello, describing the conditional in its function as a past future, says: Significa que el atributo es posterior a una cosa pretérita (Bello-Cuervo, §634. Regarding Bello's use of atributo, in the sentence el niño aprende, the verb aprende is the atributo. For the details, see §§35-40, and Nota II, pp. 340-343. The division of the grammar that discusses all these details bears the title VERBO). In other words, the claims that Menéndez Pidal makes for the pretérito perfecto are identical with those that Bello makes for the conditional functioning as a past future, which he, in turn, calls a pos-pretérito. Lastly, the wording of Menéndez Pidal's statement is such that it has been taken to mean that when the auxiliary in haber a and haber de plus infinitive is in the preterit, the construction never expresses necessity (vid. infra p. 24). To add to the confusion, he lists under this usage two examples that a few lines higher up on the same page are listed as expressing necessity.

¹Larsen, pp. 52-53.

the same construction may be equivalent to a conditional. Again, they are used interchangeably. However, in this usage, Larsen instanced haber de plus infinitive more frequently than haber a plus infinitive. In this same usage, we find haber plus a pure infinitive, but it appears much less frequently than the other two constructions.¹

When the auxiliary haber is in the preterit, haber a or haber de plus infinitive is usually nothing more than a periphrasis for the preterit of the infinitive concerned: ovieron a sacar = sacaron and se ovo de encerrar = se encerró. We also find cases where haber plus infinitive is thus used, but it is quite rare. The only examples that Larsen cites are drawn from the Libro de Apolonio. Likewise, when the auxiliary is in the pluperfect, haber a plus infinitive may be just the pluperfect of the dependent infinitive: oviera a seer engannado = fuera engannado. The same holds true for haber de plus infinitive: oviera de fazer = ficiera. In like manner, when the auxiliary stands in the imperfect subjunctive, we have quite often just an imperfect subjunctive of the dependent infinitive: hobiessedes a saber = sopiessedes and oulesse de fazer = ficiesse. Less frequently we find oviere a fazer or oviere de fazer = ficiere.²

The present subjunctive quite often expresses future time. Consequently, it happens that where in Old Spanish we might expect to find oviere de fazer or oviere a fazer, we actually find aya de fazer or aya a fazer. Another inherent characteristic of the subjunctive is that it may express obligation. Haber a or haber de plus infinitive is in itself an expression of obligation and thus may stand in the indicative where other verbs stand in

¹Larsen, pp. 52-53, & 55.

²Larsen, pp. 39, 58-59, 62, 121.

the subjunctive. It results, therefore, that oviere, aya, a plus de or a plus infinitive are used interchangeably. In sy non con las que araren, otras vestyas non trayan, the form araren = an, ayan, ovieren plus de or a plus arar.¹

Lastly, Larsen lists a few cases of haber por plus infinitive, which construction is equivalent to a simple future as well as an expression of the implicit doubt or negation implied in the future. In the Libro de Alixandre, the Madrid manuscript v. 726 reads: valerlia mas que ouies por nacer, while the Paris manuscript v. 753 has it: valdrieles mucho mas que fuesen por nacer.²

Federico Hanssen published in Spanish, in 1913, a thoroughly revised edition of his Spanische Grammatik, Halle a. S., 1910. In his treatment of habere, habere ad, and habere de plus infinitive, he remarks that in the combination cantare habeo, the infinitive, originally expressed purpose or goal, and that in early Spanish there are many examples in which the infinitive preserves its original character. Habere plus infinitive was replaced by habere ad plus infinitive, which, in its turn, gave way to habere de plus infinitive. In Old Spanish, ovo a expresses necessity, but sometimes loses its modal force and merely denotes consequence or subsequence.³

Adolf Zauner, Altspanisches Lesebuch, ed. 2, Heidelberg, 1921, remarks that aver a or aver de plus infinitive is quite often nothing more than a periphrasis for a simple verb, "Umschrei-

¹Larsen, pp. 39, 77, 79-80.

²Larsen, pp. 49-51.

³Hanssen, Gram., §§571, 610, 690, and 705. In this treatment, Hanssen seems to be unusually cautious and guarded in his assertions. Yet his bibliography and citations show that he had a thorough familiarity with previous treatments of the subject. He refers the student to Meyer-Lübke and Bello-Cuervo. Both of these works go into considerably more detail, but one senses that Hanssen, apparently, feels too much uncertainty about their theories either to affirm or refute them.

bung eines einfachen Verbums:" ovose el rey de ensanyar = der König erzürnte; ovole una ferida a dar = er brachte ihm eine Wunde bei.¹

In 1921, Wilfred A. Beardsley published his doctoral dissertation on Infinitive Constructions in Old Spanish; in 1923, F. Courtney Tarr published a review of it.² Says Professor Tarr: "The treatment of the infinitive governed by auer, auer de, and auer a (pp. 23-30, 179-190) is interesting, suggestive, and perhaps the best section of the entire work."³ Beardsley based his study on the Cantar de Mio Cid, the works of Berceo, the Libro de Alixandre, and the Primera Crónica General, works of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

Of the three constructions in question, auer plus infinitive is the least used, while auer a plus infinitive is decidedly the more common in the period and the texts studied. The original auer plus infinitive was supplanted by auer a plus infinitive. The last one to appear on the scene was auer de plus infinitive, which by the time of Santillana had the field to itself.⁴ The original concept of auer a plus infinitive was that of goal. Some of the cases observed in these early texts still show this force quite clearly. However, the element of necessity was inherent in the construction from the beginning. This point has its analogy in the two English sentences I have it to do and I have to do it. In the first one, the force of necessity is present though not developed, while "the concept of goal can be clearly felt." In

¹Zauner, op. cit., p. 111, §184. In view of Zauner's unqualified statement, one regrets that his examples show only the preterit in this usage.

²F. Courtney Tarr, MLN, XXXVIII (1923), 103-108.

³Ibid., p. 107.

⁴Beardsley, pp. 24 & 189.

the second sentence, the force of necessity is fully developed and is all that is meant to be implied. In all three of these constructions, auer is a transitive verb and the infinitive, with or without a preposition, is its object.¹

It is difficult to establish a dividing line between the three constructions auer, auer a, and auer de plus infinitive. All three of them express necessity, but the more usual sense of auer plus infinitive is that of simple futurity, while auer a and auer de express necessity more often than not. Even in the prepositional construction, the instances in which there is a maximum of futurity and a minimum of necessity are easy to find.²

Beardsley devotes considerable detail to Menéndez Pidal's infelicitous statement: "El pretérito ouo rigiendo á un infinitivo con de ó a, expresa, no la necesidad, sino un acaecimiento subsiguiente ó futuro respecto al tiempo pretérito de una narración . . . "³ He takes objection to it and shows that there are numerous instances where the force of auer a or auer de plus infinitive, though the auxiliary auer stands in the preterit, is that of necessity. The same is true of auer plus infinitive, though it occurs much less frequently in this use than the other two constructions. What is more, there is no reason for thus setting off the preterit by itself. Other cases in which the element of necessity is quite as absent as when the auxiliary stands in the preterit are far from unusual. Broadly speaking,

¹Beardsley, pp. 179-181.

²Beardsley, pp. 24, 26, 179-181, & 189.

³Menéndez Pidal, *Cantar*, I, p. 351, §161, 2. Beardsley twice (pp. 25 & 180) quotes Menéndez Pidal's not very lengthy statement and each time makes four mistakes, though the second time, while one of the previous errors is corrected, a new one slips in. Nevertheless, his remarks (p. 182) show that he had originally read it correctly. What seems to us to be the real difficulty with Menéndez Pidal's statement apparently escaped Beardsley's notice. See our comments p. 20, footnote.

though, the principle laid down by Menéndez Pidal is correct.¹

In 1922, Gerhard Rohlfs published a work to which he gave the title "Das romanische Habeo-Futurum und Konditionalis." With no limit in the time or the territory covered, he studies the four formulas dare habeo, habeo dare, habeo ad dare, and habeo de dare in their use as expressions of future time. In Spain, while it is true that the regular future is formed from dare habeo, the form habeo dare, with the auxiliary and the dependent infinitive in Romance word order, is not at all uncommon in Old Spanish. In literary usage, this form seems not to have survived beyond the thirteenth century.² Habeo ad dare and habeo de dare are much later formations, though they are found as early as the eighth century in the Merovingian documents. Both forms are used indiscriminately and with no difference in meaning. In the course of time, they have followed the same development as dare habeo and habeo dare. On the Iberian peninsula, habeo de dare had come to be used as a simple future as early as the eleventh century.³

In what Rohlfs calls Lower Italian and in Leonese, he finds habere with the sense of 'to be on the point of, to be about to, to like to.' The auxiliary habere is in the preterit and indicates an action that almost or all but happened, threatened to take place, but yet did not actually take place. Rohlfs describes it with these words: "ein drohen bevorstehendes Ereignis (Eventualis). . . dessen Eintreten aber schliesslich doch noch unterblieb (paene cecidi . . . " He explains it as a survival of a special use of the preterit of habere plus infinitive, the form that gave Italian its conditional: habui dare = ich

¹Beardsley, pp. 25-27 & 180-182.

²Rohlfs, pp. 109-110.

³Rohlfs, pp. 115-116.

hätte gegeben; habui mori = ich wäre beinahe umgekommen. In Leonese, hubo caerse = er wäre beinahe gefallen.¹ In the same localities, the preterit of habere plus infinitive is also used as a durative preterit: ovo esta facienda XV dias a durar "dauerte 14. Tage," Alex. 1903; cuydeste de mi mano foir e estorcer, ovieste 'en peores manos a caer "bist du gefallen," Alex. 1615. This usage is also found in the present-day language of Murcia.²

Rodolfo Lenz, La Oración y sus partes, ed. 2, Madrid, 1925, has little to say about haber de plus infinitive. It expresses obligatory action, though not as forcefully as tener que plus infinitive. Further, it forms a complete periphrastic conjugation. The so-called future infinitive, haber de amar, a form which is listed in many grammars, is really an artificial creation on the part of the grammarians. In Spanish, the active infinitive as a simple form survived only in the present tense. The most that haber de amar could be is an infinitive expressing obligation in the present time.³

The 1928 edition of the Gramática de la lengua española published by the Spanish Academy is likewise brief in its treatment of haber de plus infinitive. In this form haber serves to form a type of complete conjugation with the infinitives preceded by de. Thus used, haber de plus infinitive, like tener de plus infinitive, refers practically always to a future time, more or less near, and generally signifies the intention, necessity, obligation, or contingency of doing what is expressed in the infin-

¹Rohlf's, p. 145. In Old French, we find a similar construction with debere: de poor dui estre crevez, Roman de Renart, 14371, cited by Rohlf's, p. 145, note 1.

²Rohlf's, p. 145.

³Lenz, pp. 386-387, §248, & pp. 413-414, §267.

itive governed by haber.¹

Victor Fernández Llera, Gramática y vocabulario del Fuero Juzgo, Madrid, 1929,² finds aver, aver a, and aver de plus infinitive. In the following century, aver a is losing ground. Juan Ruiz prefers aver de, for in the Libro de buen amor there is just one case of aver a plus infinitive.³ The force of these constructions is that of necessity or obligation: ovo a entregar = tuvo el deber de entregar y no entregó, and renders the Latin reddere non occurrerit. At times, the construction is used to translate a Latin future: lo avra a dar = vindicabit, in which case the idea of necessity or obligation is contained in the future with the force of an imperative. At other times, it translates a Latin preterit: a aquellos que avien a aver = illis in quibus testatus est, where the force of necessity or obligation lies in the legal consequence of the idea indicated in the Latin text. Aver thus used, is, therefore, a synonym of deber.⁴

Under the entry aver, in José María Aguado, Glosario

¹Acad., Gram., pp. 54-55, §§89, c, & 90. I am quoting from the 1928 edition; the 1931 edition is not accessible to me.

²We place this work here because it became available in published form in 1929, but the manuscript was completed as far back as 1900 (see title-page). Regarding its scientific value, we quote Rafael Lapesa:

Representa este estudio un laudable esfuerzo en un momento de iniciación de la labor filológica en España; pero carece de método y exactitud científica, y contiene errores y confusiones inexplicables entonces, pero insostenibles hoy. Pesan demasiado las ideas y términos de la vieja gramática, principalmente en la parte fonética. Los textos antiguos utilizados, aparte del Fuero, son en su mayoría los de la Biblioteca de Autores Españoles. Ciertamente, apenas había otros. (Rafael Lapesa, RFE, XVII (1930), 295).

³Fernández Llera does not indicate his authority for this statement, nor does he indicate the edition he used in case this is a personal observation. His bibliography (pp. V-VI) leads one to suspect that he used the Sánchez edition reprinted by Janer in 1864 in Vol. LVII of the Biblioteca de Autores Españoles (see above, note 2). The next two studies that we shall take up observe no such limitation in the use of aver a plus infinitive in the Libro de buen amor (see below, p. 28).

⁴Victor Fernández Llera, Gramática y vocabulario del Fuero Juzgo, Madrid, 1929, pp. 77-78, §270.

sobre Juan Ruiz, Madrid, 1929, we read that aver a and aver de plus infinitive express obligation or necessity. But the same construction with the auxiliary in the preterit is a periphrasis for the preterit of the dependent infinitive: 144ld, ovo de entristecer = entristeció; 233d, ovieron de caer = cayeron; 54ld, ovose de perder = se perdió; 144lb, ovosele a caer = se le cayó.¹

In the following year, Henry B. Richardson also published a glossary to the Libro de buen amor. To him aver a and aver de plus infinitive express necessity only. Under aver a he quotes 144lb, ovosele a caer, which José María Aguado classified as the simple preterit se le cayó.²

The most recent study of haber comes from the pen of Eva Seifert.³ As early as the twelfth century, she instances many cases of haber a and haber de plus infinitive. The preposition is rarely lacking.⁴ In the fifteenth century, the Danza de la Muerte uses both of them side by side, apparently with no distinction. The author's choice between the two may have been determined by phonetic and metrical considerations. Haber de plus in-

¹ José María Aguado, Glosario sobre Juan Ruiz, Madrid, 1929, p. 254, s. v. aver.

² Henry B. Richardson, An Etymological Vocabulary to the Libro de Buen Amor of Juan Ruiz, New Haven, 1930, p. 32, s. v. aver.

³ Eva Seifert, "Haber y Tener como expresiones de posesión en español," RFE, XVII (1930), 233-276 & 345-389. Along the same line, she had previously published "Habere und Tenere in der altspanischen Danza de la Muerte," in Festschrift für Carl Appel, i. e., ZRPh, XLVII (1927), 514-522; and "Die Verben habere und tenere im Fuero Juzgo," in Miscelánea de estudos em honra de Da. Carolina Michaëlis de Vasconcellos, Lisboa, 1930. This last named work, cited in RFE, XVII (1930), 236, note 2, is not accessible to me. It bears the same date as the study in RFE. But since it is cited in the study in RFE, it follows that the study in RFE is the more recent of the two. And further, inasmuch as the study in RFE is, in spite of its title, a rather general study of haber and tener, we would expect the authoress to incorporate in it the results of her previous investigations on haber.

⁴ Eva Seifert, RFE, XVII (1930), 362.

finitive is the one that survives in modern Spanish. She suggests that this may be due to the fact that so many verbal inflections end in a vowel that the preposition a in haber a plus infinitive was probably absorbed.¹ As a last instance of the use of haber a plus infinitive, she quotes from an Aragonese text of the sixteenth century.²

As for its meaning, haber thus construed expresses obligation and is equivalent to deber.³ In the Danza de la Muerte, it is used to express the inevitable.⁴ Often, the sense of duty or obligation is lost.⁵ For its use to express the future and conditional tenses, she refers us to Gerhard Rohlfs, "Das romanische Habeo-Futurum und Konditionalis," in Archivum Romanicum, VI (1922), 105-154.⁶ As an example of haber por plus infinitive, she cites: guerría lo que fiziera Tebas aver por far (Alex., 213 P). This, she says, is an isolated case and aver por far=no haber hecho.⁷

This brings us to the end of our summary of the results of previous investigations of auer, auer a, and auer de plus infinitive. It shows, among other things, that the problem has not received a great deal of serious attention since Bello published

¹Eva Seifert, ZRPh, XLVII (1927), 522 & RFE, XVII (1930), 362.

²Eva Seifert, RFE, XVII (1930), 362.

³Eva Seifert, RFE, XVII (1930), 242 & 361. Deber in Spanish, as in Latin, expresses subjective or moral obligation (see above p. 7, note 1).

⁴Eva Seifert, ZRPh, XLVII (1927), 521. Here she treats haber a and haber de plus infinitive under haber used to form the future tense. Consequently, her meaning is probably 'what is inevitable in the future.'

⁵Eva Seifert, RFE, XVII (1930), 362. Her authority for this assertion is Menéndez Pidal, Cantar, I, 351, §161, 2 (see above pp. 19 & 24-25).

⁶Eva Seifert, RFE, XVII (1930), 362, note 1.

⁷Eva Seifert, RFE, XVII (1930), 362, note 5, & p. 389, note to p. 362, note 5.

his observations in 1841. But Bello's analysis simply states the case for modern Spanish. For Old Spanish, we have only scattered statements. That auer, auer a, and auer de express necessity is unanimously admitted. Whether it is absolute necessity or moral necessity or both is not always clear. That these constructions with the auxiliary in the preterit are periphrases for the preterit of the dependent infinitive is also more or less generally accepted. When it comes to accepting this construction with the auxiliary in the present or imperfect as periphrases for the future or conditional respectively, there is considerable hesitancy. And Zauner is the only one to go so far as to say that haber in this construction is frequently a mere flectional auxiliary, that its only function is to point out the mood, tense, person, and number of the dependent infinitive.

CHAPTER II

CLASSIFIED LIST OF EXAMPLES OF AUER, AUER A, AND AUER DE

In the following pages, we shall offer a classified list of the examples we have collected on the use of auer, auer a, and auer de plus infinitive. These examples are taken from the documents published by R. Menéndez Pidal, Orígenes del español, ed. 2, Madrid, 1929, pp. 1-49; R. Menéndez Pidal, Documentos lingüísticos de España: I, Reino de Castilla, Madrid, 1919; the Cartulario del Infantado de Covarrubias, por el R. P. Luciano Serrano, Valladolid, 1907; the Cartulario del Monasterio de Eslonza, publicado por V[icente] V[ignau], Madrid, 1885; the Biblia medieval romanceada: I, Pentateuco, Buenos Aires, 1927; and the Primera Crónica General de España, ed. R. Menéndez Pidal, Madrid, 1906. The Diez Mandamientos, also consulted for this purpose, offers nothing beyond one example of auer a plus infinitive expressing necessity.¹ These texts cover the X-XIII centuries inclusive, and are representative of legal, clerical, and artistic prose.

It is our intention, in this list, to classify every instance of auer, auer a, and auer de plus infinitive found in the texts above enumerated. The main divisions of our classification are: necessity; future; conditional; flectional auxiliary; and auer, auer a, and auer de plus infinitive 'to be about to.' We

¹"Textes castillans inédits: De los Diez Mandamientos," ed. Alfred Morel-Fatio, Romania, XXI (1887), 381: por exo te he yo a dar aquela penitencia que tu sofrir puedas.

made no attempt to distinguish between objective and subjective necessity for it is impossible to establish acceptable criteria for so doing.¹ Under necessity we include the cases in which the idiom expresses inevitability, compulsion, or that which is pre-ordained; its use to indicate legal stipulations, regulations imposed by superior authority, mutual agreements and promises, and instructions or directions of one sort or another; also its use to indicate the fitness, propriety, or expediency of an action. The future and conditional include all cases where the force of necessity is wholly gone or so far submerged that futurity is the dominant force. As for the conditional, the classification shows whether it is a past or imperfect future, or a genuine conditional. Under flectional auxiliary we have a subdivision for each one of the simple or synthetic tenses of the indicative and subjunctive. Within each division, our classification has a subdivision for each one of the three constructions: auer, auer a, and auer de plus infinitive, thus making it convenient to find all the examples of any one of them. Under each one of these subdivisions, we have a further subdivision showing their occurrence in the main clause or a subordinate clause. Further subdivision seems inadvisable, but in our discussion,² we shall, so far as possible, select clear-cut examples to illustrate all the uses of auer, auer a, and auer de plus infinitive instanced in the texts studied.

It is obvious that this classification has offered many difficulties. Our problems were, in part, identical with those that Thielmann encountered in his study of the origin of the Romance future and conditional.³ The instances in which it is

¹See our discussion pp. 132-134.

²See pp. 104-180.

³Thielmann, ALLG, II (1885), 62 & 201.

impossible to tell with any degree of finality what the force of auer is, are many times more numerous than the cases in which it can be definitely determined. The difficulty was considerably increased by our attempt to classify all the examples in the texts used. The task, then, is, for the most part, subjective, and, as such, constantly subject to error. Quite frequently, with nothing in the context to guide us, we found it necessary to decide arbitrarily to put a given instance under one division of our classification rather than another. In these cases, we have simply placed them where, in our opinion, they had the best claim to be. Many examples could with equal justification be put in another section of the list. To provide for these extremely doubtful cases, it seemed best to give them a separate division. This makes them more accessible and singles out the ones in which we have the least support for our decision. But in spite of these difficulties, there are enough examples about which we are either certain, or reasonably so, to support our main contentions and make the classification worth while.

A. GLOSAS SILENTES¹

FLECTIONAL AUXILIARY

Pluperfect Subjunctive

auer

Subordinate Clause

mulier quoque que potionem [bebere] acceperit, quantos
quumque concipere uel parere debuerat [abierat] tanto-
rum homicidiorum ream se esse [sedere] cognoscat (16)

¹Menéndez Pidal, Orígenes, pp. 10-27. The numeral in the parenthesis following each citation is the page reference of the published text. Where there are two parentheses, the first one has the date of the document, the second one the page reference.

B. DOCUMENTOS DE TIERRA DE LEON¹

FLECTIONAL AUXILIARY

Preterit

auer a

Main Clause

Et toto qua[n]tum abuimus de ereditas medietate tiui con-
cedo, proque accepimus de uouis jn pretjo. C. solidos de
ariento que lexauit a tiui Feles Petrizi de fidiatura
quementisti de tuo filo Migael Feles, et quisti me a dare
contu solidos de ariento, proinde posuisti jstas ereditas
in cartula que a tiue et annouis bene conplacuit (1061)(30)

C. DOCUMENTOS LINGUISTICOS DE ESPAÑA,

I: REINO DE CASTILLA²

NECESSITY

auer

No examples

auer a

Main Clause

et el solar e la hereditat a asser solariega de sancta
Juliana ⁊ non hi connoçer iamas bien fetria
Santillana (1223) (6, 11-12)

⁊ de quanto comprar Martin Cantriz e sos ermanos ⁊ los
otros qui despues dellos uernan pora est solar, a asseer
a este fuero Santillana (1223) (6, 14)

et delos otros solares e otras hereditades que tienen de
sancta Juliana an a fazer fuero de sancta Juliana, como
collaço, assi como mandar cabildo, cada uno por si
Santillana (1223) (6, 16)

¹Menéndez Pidal, Orígenes, pp. 27-32.

²Ramón Menéndez Pidal, Documentos lingüísticos de España,
I: Reino de Castilla, Madrid, 1919. In these citations, we shall
indicate, first, the place where the document was written; second,
the year of its composition; and third, the number of the docu-
ment in this collection and the line in which auer, auer a, or
auer de plus infinitive is found.

et si querella ouier el abbat de Martin Cantriz ⁊ de sos
ermanos e de quantos hi moraren en aquest solar de Ferran,
o ellos del abbat o de sos omes, as a enderecar por cabildo
e mandar se por prior Santillana (1223) (6, 19)

si dannol ficiere, el molinero del molino de Sancta Maria
a lo a decir al molinero de don Peidro
Burgos (1209) (161, 12-13)

del danno que en este medio uiniere del molino de yuso
al de suso, a lo a pechar don Peidro
Burgos (1209) (161, 19)

del plazo adelant, si uender nolo quisieren este heredad,
aapendrar don Garcia ouij lo suyo heredar a estos fiado-
res nombrados que en esta carta jazen, que io [read: lo]
fagan uender Valdegrajera (1228) (180, 28)

esta villa ⁊ esta hereditat sobredicha non la auedes a
meter uos, donna Mencia, en otro manpostero que la
tenga, mas uos la auedes a tener por uostro corpo o por
uostros omnes, ⁊ non auedes a coger en Paredes a nengun
omne del mundo con poder, que a mī mal quiera nīn que
mal me pueda buscar, nin auedes adesaforar los omnes de
Paredes nin fazer les tuerto nin fuerça, ni auedes esta
villa ⁊ esta hereditat a uender ni adar ni a enpennar ni
de otra gujsa nenguna a enagenar¹
Burgos (1237) (189, 7-13)

en esto ad a seer pagado Fernan Pedrez, como dicho es
Toledo (1206) (266, 38-39)

Subordinate Clause

assi como fallaron en pesquisa que an a fazer por fuero
a sancta Juliana quantos moraren en este solar ⁊ esta
hereditat, cada uno por si, dar nunçio ⁊ non otro fuero
Santillana (1223) (6, 9)

odio dezir a so suegro que auie[n] air por foro a mer-
cado de Miranda Miranda de Ebro (1213) (43, 35)

esta es la abenencia qe faz el abbadessa de Uillaenna
con Pedro Felizes: a a venir Pedro Felizes a rio de

¹Our reason for not interpreting all these cases as cate-
gorical futures lies in the fact that the verb is in the second
person plural, the form used in the most formal and polite speech.
The categorical future shows no such consideration to the one that
is being addressed. Another thing, in ni auedes esta villa ⁊ es-
ta heredad a uender, etc., there is reason for considering both
villa and hereditat as the objects of auedes rather than of uender
and the other infinitives that follow. If so interpreted, the
force of the construction is that of purpose and not necessity.
The same interpretation might easily be applied to the first two
instances of auer a plus infinitive. In the third and fourth
instances, the noun objects serve as the object of the infinitive,
while the infinitive is the object of auedes.

Anguieillas, e a a fer Pedro Felizes sue casa, ⁊ qel de el abbadessa la meatad de la madera, ⁊ qe la tengan Pedro Felizes ⁊ su mugier en sosdias, ⁊ qe de a su fin Pedro Felizes .XX. morauedis, ⁊ de quanta heredad hi laurare de el quarto Pedro Felizes, ⁊ qe curie el ganado sin ninguna mission del abbadessa¹

Vileña (1223) (47, 6)

demandamos el diezmo ⁊ la renta desta heredad, assi como diz en la carta sobre dicha, ⁊ que nos demostrassen esta heredad de que nos auien a dar el diezmo ⁊ la renta sobre dicha

Frias, escriba de La Vid de Bureba (1278) (64, 13)

dixo: que . . . auien a dar .IIIIJ. tabladas de renta ⁊ el diezmo todo desta heredad sobre dicha

Frias, escriba de la Vid de Bureba (1278) (64, 30)

dizien los delos barrios: los que tornaron margadga que la dieron por fuerça e que no la darien; los que passaron en casamiento dizien que el baron tornando pecha, la mugier boteja que a conprar auian; los otros dizien que assin conpraron en el tienpo del rej don Alfonsso e que non pecharon, e que mandaua el rej que biulessen quomo estonz, e por esto non deuien pecho

San Millán de la Cogolla (1237) (91, 19)

les quitamos todas las demandas que auemos contra aquellos que ouieron atraer² el diezmo en plata ⁊ lo non troxieron

Vitoria (1288) (141, 51)

les quitamos el mostrenco ⁊ lo de aquellos que murieron sin herederos, que nos auemos auer con derecho en los nuestros rengalengos

Vitoria (1288) (141, 58)

les quitamos todos los derechos que nos auian adar por rrazon de las cosas que ssacauan del regno a tierra de moros

Vitoria (1288) (141, 74)

fallaron por pesquisa que el molino de Oreuelo auie a parar presa so la puent ⁊ sobre la puent, quando quisiesse ⁊ mester le fuesse

Burgos (1209) (161, 9)

non a afer presa don Peidro que danno faga al molino de suso

Burgos (1209) (161, 11)

esta heredad sobrescripta que uos damos que fagades

¹It should be noted here that a a uenir and a a fer have the same force as the subjunctives in the clauses that follow them.

²The preterit is unusual in this construction. It regularly indicates that the duty or obligation existed in the past and was complied with. The imperfect indicative of the auxiliary is the tense used for this construction, for it leaves the outcome indefinite and is the construction that gave the conditional. However, the Italian conditional developed out of this usage. We found a few more cases of it in our texts (see p. 37, n. 2 & p. 45, n. 2) which shows that it was not unheard of in Spain.

della .XII. quinones ⁊ que lo ayades por heredad por uen-
 dor ⁊ por enpennar a tales omes que fagan a nos esta
 façendera sobrescripta que uos nos auedes a façer
 Burgos, escriba de las Huelgas (1220) (167, 29)

si en este medio esta heredad sobre dicha uender quisie-
 remos, sobrestos .CC. morauedis que tenemos, annos a dar
 don Garcia odonna Mayor de mas quanto preciaren el heredad
 Guter Concaluet ⁊ Ferrand Aluaret quj lo an apreciar
 Valdegrajera (1228) (180, 18 & 20)

los calzes que auien a mondar los de suso ⁊ los de iuso
 Villasandino (1228) (182, 16)

dexamos lo todo a uos don Garcia por las debdas geuos el
 deuje ⁊ por las cuentas que uos auje adar, de todas quan-
 tas cosas touo deuos, que uos auje adar cuenta ⁊ non uos
 la dio¹
 Lerma (1234) (187, 14 & 15)

falle que auien a auer en las salinas de Rusio dozientos
 morabedis pora vestiario, por cambio que dieron a mio
 auuelo el pozo que dizen del Comde; ⁊ otrossi falle que
auien a auer en essas mismas salinas de Rusio otros cient
 morabedis, por cambio que dieron a mio auuelo quarenta ⁊
 dues eras en essas mismas salinas de Rusio; e falle otros-
 si que auien a auer en essas mismas salinas de Rusio
 quatroçientos ⁊ diez ⁊ dos almudes de sal
 Burgos (1239) (190, 8, 10, 12-13)

uos mando firme mientras, que pues yo assi lo falle por
 priuilegio de mio auuelo que lo an a auer, que les dedes
 estos trezientos morabedis
 Burgos (1239) (190, 17)

con .VIIIJ. soldos de encienso que an adar estas casas
 deuandichas ancadanno a don Garcia dela Tabia
 Burgos (?) (1241) (192, 16)

aquesta heredit antes dicha hi estos collaços ante
 dichos uos damos por el alma de don Garcia Ordonez
 e por el quinto que auedes a auer en todo lo suyo
 Torregalindo (1226) (215, 17)

fiziemos gracia a Garci Gilez en nombre del ⁊ de Pero
 Sanchez, cuius mandatum se dicebat habere ad componen-
 dum ⁊ a fazer toda cosa que procurador puede fazer
 Sigüenza (1239) (255, 13)

es en cuenta de Martin Yanez dela paga que les auie af-
 fazer
 Sevilla (?) (1294) (355, 43)

¹The non uos la dio shows clearly that the imperfect auje
 adar expresses an obligation in the past that was not complied
 with (see p. 36, note 2).

²For this construction, used in place of an infinitive,
 see Thielmann, ALLG, II (1885), 66-70, and Stolz-Schmalz, Latein-
 ische Grammatik, ed. 5 von Manu Leumann und Joh. Bapt. Hofmann,
 München, 1928, p. 599, §178, III, Zusatz.

auer de

Main Clause

estos dineros an de ser pagados cadanno por la ffiesta de
Quasi modo Treviño (1277) (139, 9-10)

por esto que yo fago adon Rodrigo el sobredicho, ha el de
quitar debdas ⁊ mandas de don Aluaro Toledo (1242) (281, 13)

el magistro a demeter so juyz ⁊ sos alcaldes ⁊ sos jurados
quando el touliere por bien; e el juyz ⁊ los alcaldes ⁊
los jurados ande seer uezinos de Cogolludo. E la orden
a deuser so mercado ⁊ sus medidas ⁊ todos sus derechos
quanto es el sennorio; ⁊ los uezinos de Cogolludo ⁊ delas
aldeas noan de dar portadgo ninguno ⁊ noan de auer escusado
ninguno (sic) Calatrava (1252) (283, 19, 21, 23-24)

ca ssuyo es, hi ellos loan de auer en mio lugar
Toledo (1258) (285, 60)

si nolo fiziere, jo don Pero e de complir al magistro
heredades de ques cumpla el de sus morabedis
Uclás (1228) (316, 14)

Subordinate Clause

e abrenuntie los .XII. morauedis que me fueron assigna-
dos enna casa de Auila, que auia de auer de Sant Millan
enprestamo en mis dias

San Millán de la Cogolla (1246) (95, 8)

nos obligamos a uos don Aznar . . . que uos demos cadan-
no en nuestro monasterio, el dia de sant Martin, .XL.
morauedis, sin los otros .XI. que uos a de dar donna
Sancha

San Millán de la Cogolla (1247) (96, 10)

yo don Enneco, deuandicho abbat, do e otorgo al conuento
de Sant Millan de la Cogolla estos diez morauedis, assi
como sobredicho es, por los .VII. morauedis que auien de
auer, por la su yantar el dia de la Ascension . . . e
por los .III. morauedis que auien de auer del aniuersa-
rio de las uinnas

San Millán de la Cogolla (1270) (104,13-15)

mando e do que ayan el conuento sobredicho los uasiellos
de la yantar que auien de auer de la casa sobredicha

San Millán de la Cogolla (1270) (104, 29)

da qui nasçen contiendas ⁊ baiaras ⁊ juyzios ⁊ muchos
enxecos entrellos ⁊ los terçeros que les demandan los
diezmos, por que ellos an de jurar

Valladolid (1255) (228, 21)

la casa del ortelano que auien (sic) de fazer Adam Rroyz
sola pena de cabildo Avila (1269) (240, 33)

dieron le el un pedaço dela vjnna, que y es de parte de
Nubla, assi commo lo taja la ljnne, por la quarta de

alfaba quel m̃nguaua delas .XVIIJ. alfabas que auja
de auer en el riego Murcia (1272) 366, 12)

FUTURE

auer

No examples

auer a

Subordinate Clause

fazemos playto con uos, don Peydro abbat de Rioseco, ⁊
con todo el conuento, que seamos uuestros uassellos
firmes ⁊ estables del monesterio ⁊ de uos ⁊ de aque-
llos que han a uenir depues de uos
Rioseco (1230) (51, 8-9)

uendemos uos todas nuestras heredades sobre tal para-
miento, que nos ⁊ los que han a uenir depues de nos,
non nos podamos tornar a ningun fidalgo nj a ningun
sennor nj nos nj nuestras heredades
Rioseco (1230) (51, 10)

ruego ⁊ pido mercet al rey don Alffonsso mjo sennor ⁊
a todos los otros que an a regnar en Castilla ffatal
dia de la fin Canas or Haro (1262) (102, 25)

sepan los qui agora son e los che an aseer
Grijalba (1222) (170, 3)

connoçida cosa sea a todos los que son ⁊ han a seer
Gumiel de Izán (1227) (216, 3)

connoçida cosa sea a todos los que son ⁊ han a seeder
Gumiel de Izán (1227) (216, 14)

connoçida cosa sea a todos los que son ⁊ han a seer
Gumiel de Izán (1227) (216, 23)

auer de

Main Clause

diom el abbat amj .V. armentios, .III. buex ⁊ .II. ba-
cas, ⁊ so pagada con ello, ⁊ pierdo querella ⁊ nulla
cosa non les he mas de demandar
Aguilar de Campó (1236) (31, 12)

Subordinate Clause

partom pagada de quenta demanda demandaua de auer de
mio padre ⁊ de mi madre al abbat don Matino de Sancta
Maria de Augilar ⁊ a so conuent ⁊ a fra Aluaro, que
ninguna cosa non les he munq[ua] de demandar nin jo
nin omne de mio linnage
Aguilar de Campó (1236) (31, 9)

obligamos nos el abbat ⁊ el conuentu de ssi mismo logar,
los presentes olos que an de uenir
Haro (1282) (106, 24)

conocida cosa sea atodos los que son ⁊ an de seer
Soria (?) (1228) (214, 27)

todo esto do, por Dios hi por mj alma, a Sancta Maria
de Tortoles hi al abadessa don[a] Sancha hi aquel con-
uiento que hi es hi adeser
Quintanilla de Riofranco (1228) (225, 13)

los quales morabedis e depagar abuena fe; sin enganno
Uclés (1228) (316, 11)

CONDITIONAL

Past Future

auer

No examples

auer a

Subordinate Clause

sobre demanda que auiamos . . . en razon que nos diziamos
que auiamos ataiar la penna que esta sso el molino dela
penna Frías (1278) (61, 8)

los nobles reyes dont yo uengo ondraron ⁊ deffendieron
las eglesias ⁊ les dieron muchas fframquezas, por que
aquellos que las auien aseruir¹ mas ondrada mientre ⁊
mas sin embargo pudiessen fazer seruitio a Dios ⁊ ala
eglesia Brihuega (1256) (284, 17)

Doubtful case:

uos que dedes al conuiento los .LX. morauedis sobredichos
que les auiedes adar, si uos diesso los .CC. morauedis
Oña (1244) (58, 19)

auer de

No examples

FLECTIONAL AUXILIARY

Present Indicative

auer

¹Since the antecedent of this relative clause is indefi-
nite, one might expect to find either ouiesse aseruir or siruies-
sen.

No examples

auer a

No examples

auer de

Subordinate Clause

fizieron me entender que en muchos logares de mios regnos
que non quieren soffrir que los terçeros olos que an de
recabdar los diezmos que esten delante quando ellos coien
el su pan Valladolid (1255) (228, 12)

dizen que ay otros que, por esconder el su derecho a
sancta eglesia, que coien sus montones de noche a furto,
sin sabiduria daquellos que an de recabdar los diezmos
Valladolid (1255) (228, 18)

que repiquen la campana tres uegadas a que uengan los
terçeros o a aquellos que an de recabdar los diezmos
Valladolid (1255) (228, 33-34)

Imperfect Indicative

auer

Subordinate Clause

iugo don Diago que eitassen sortes los canonges, e a
equi cadisse la suert, che iurasse sobre la quatuor euan-
gelia que non aujen¹ derectura sobre a chel molino de
moleo auer ninguno
Santo Domingo de la Calzada (1199) (80, 10)

auer a

Subordinate Clause

partieron se pagados e soltaron la jura e el moleo atoda
la derectura que auien ad auer en aquel molino
Santo Domingo de la Calzada (1199) (80, 14)

les quitamos todas las demandas ⁊ penas que auemos con-
tra aquellos que ssacaron cosas uedadas fuera delos reg-
nos, o argent biuo o bermejón sin nuestro mandado ossin
mandado de aquellos quelo auian auer por el rey nuestro
padre o por nos Vitoria (1288) (141, 55)

todos aquellos derechos con que ami auiedes arrecudir con
pan ⁊ con morabedis alos plazos que comigo auiedes
Toledo (1258) (285, 57)

¹ One usually finds the subjunctive after verbs of swear-
ing.

auer de

Subordinate Clause

nos . . . arbitros oamigables conponedores en el pleyto
que es oauie de ser entre labbat ⁊ el conuento de Fittero
dela una parte, ⁊ dela otra parte labbat ⁊ el cabillo de
sant Miguel de Alfaro Alfaro (1275) (127, 9)

tenemos por bien que los morauedis que sson por pagar,
delos cofechamientos (sic) que ffizioron con el Barchilon
o con aquellos que lo auien de rrecabdar por el, que los
non den ⁊ ssean quitos Vitoria (1288) (141, 134)

Preterit

auer

No examples

auer a

Main Clause

et ueno el conceio de Cordouila armado confre Juuan de
Caraueo a Santa Ouenia, ⁊ dio Migael el Crespo dos lan-
zadas a don Johannes, ⁊ ouiemos nos a encloir¹ dentro
enla casa Aguilar de Campó (1223) (28, 60)

por esto oujemos nos, el prior ⁊ el conuentu sobre dicho,
aquerellar a nuestro sennor el obispo
Frias, escriba de La Vid de Bureba (1278) (64, 14-15)

Subordinate Clause

les quitamos la demanda dela deçima que el papa dio al
rey nuestro padre por sseys annos, pora ayuda dela
guerra, tan bien lo que ffinco enla tierra por coger,
comme lo que ffinco en los cogedores o en los que lo
ouieron a recabdar Vitoria (1288) (141, 63)

auer de

Subordinate Clause

saluo ende que tenemos por bien que nos den cuenta todos
los cogedores ⁊ ssobrecoedores que alguna cosa recabdaron
por nos de dos annos aaca, en pero aquellos que mostraren
nuestras cartas, o de aquellos que lo ouieron de veer por
nos, de commo dioron cuenta, tenemos por bien que les valan
Vitoria (1288) (141, 40-41)

tenemos por bien que nos den cuenta los que lo ouieron

¹In this same document, line 86, ouiemos nos a encloir is
rendered by nos encloiron.

deuer por nos o por el Barchilon

Vitoria (1288) (141, 64)

ssaluo aquellos que mostraren nuestras cartas o de aquellos que lo ouier[on] de veer por nos

Vitoria (1288) (141, 73)

les quitamos lo que leuaron los cogedores 7 los ssobre-cogedores o los otros que algo ouieron de rrecabdar por el rey nuestro padre o por nos

Vitoria (1288) (141, 83)

Future Indicative

auer

No examples

auer a

Subordinate Clause

por que non uengades despues a otras contiendas njn auredes a jurar njn caer¹ en otras sentencias

Valladolid (1255) (228, 38)

auer de

No examples

Conditional

No examples

Present Subjunctive

No examples

Imperfect Subjunctive

auer

No examples

auer a

No examples

auer de

Subordinate Clause

¹It will be noted that auredes a jurar njn caer is identical in construction with uengades. The preposition a is not repeated before the second infinitive.

por refazer toda mission que la ecclesia ouies de fazer
en emparando o siguiendo pleyto

Sigüenza (1239) (255, 25)

Future Subjunctive

auer

No examples

auer a

Subordinate Clause

si cosa fuere que el terçio se ouiere a tornar¹ enel es-
tado que estaua primero, que uos el conceio tornedes en
uuestra querella commo dantes que fiziessemos esta por
Santa
Santillana (1292) (8, 37)

en tal guisa que quando yo o aquellos que lo mio ouieren
a heredar dieren rendida de .XVI. morauedis a Sancta
Maria, ques partan los sennores de la uinea ⁊ los mios
herederos qui lo mio heredaren²

Burgos (Hacia 1200) (154, 10)

auer de

Subordinate Clause

que la ayades uos los sobredichos esta dicha vinna, ⁊
los que lo uuestro ouieren de heredar

Alfaro (1272) (126, 12)

que uos Ferrando sobredicho ouuestra mulier don Elfa ocoal
quiere que esta dicha vinna ouiere de heredar por uos

Alfaro (1272) (126, 17)

con .VIIIJ. soldos de encienso que an adar estas casas
deuandichas ancadanno a don Garcia dela Tabla o a quien
lo suo ouier de heredar

Burgos (1241) (192, 18)

de todaquelos que alguna ren ouieren de uer por el, ⁊
se pararen contra dalguna ren deste fecho

Toledo (?) (1236) (278, 39)

si por auentura don Rodrigo ouiere de uender Torres, que
es su heredamiento, por debdas de don Aluaro, ques en-
tregue

Toledo (1242) (281, 20)

et uos que contengades el clerigo capellan ⁊ los cleri-

¹Note, in this same document, the reading in line 34: si
la carta del rey non uos pudieremos dar, dandouos uuestros moraue-
dis que nos diestes, que se torne el terçio enel estado que estaua
primero.

²Heredaren in this clause is equivalent to ouieren a
heredar in the clause above.

çones que ouieren de seruir la egleſia
Uclés (1242) (319, 20)

estas casas sobredichas uos do 7 uos otorgo que las aya-
des libres 7 quitas por juro de heredad pora uos 7 pora
quien lo uuestro ouiere de heredar
Sevilla (1253) (342, 12)

D. CARTULARIO DEL INFANTADO DE COVARRUBIAS¹

NECESSITY

auer

No examples

auer a

Main Clause

e en esto que dieron a los de Cuebasrrruvias por ayacija de
sus ganados de noche, no han y a cortar leña, ni verde ni
seca, ni han y a facer fuego (1262) (107)

e en este termino no han a cortar los de Sant Martin de
Coytrales leña, ni verde, ni seca, ni han y a facer fuego
(1262) (108)

Subordinate Clause

scriptura cautionis facio ego Eita et ego Kara ad tibi
nostra domina Urraca comitissa de nostras ereditates
. . . que pariabimus ego Eita et ego Cara ad vobis nos-
tra domina Urraca comitissa pro illos DC. solidos au-
rienços que abuimus ad pariare² (1027) (43)

los canonicos desse mismo logar se me enviaron querellar
e dizen que quando acaezen y Infantes o ricos-omes o
otros omes poderosos, que les avedes vos a dar conducho,
que ydes con sus despensseros e mostradesles el pan y
el vino del cabildo de que dan raciones e de los canoni-
gos e de los companeros de la egleſia, e que ge lo faze-
des tomar por fuerça, por razon de escusar las vuestras
bodegas e el vuestro pan . (1282) (122)

auer de

Main Clause

los ganados de Cuevasrrruvias han de pascer de día, de sol

¹Cartulario del Infantado de Covarrubias, por el R. P.
Don Luciano Serrano, Valladolid, 1907 (Fuentes para la historia
de Castilla, por los PP. Benedictinos de Silos, tomo II).

²See our comment p. 36, note 2, and p. 37, note 1.

a sol, en los terminos de Sant Pedro de Arlanza, e de
noche que se tornen¹ a yacer a su termino
(1262) (108)

los ganados de Sant Martin de Coytrales han de pascen en
los terminos de Cuebarruvias de dia, de sol a sol, e de
noche que se tornen a yacer a su termino
(1262) (108)

en el tiempo que oviere lande en los montes de Cuebasrruvias
. . . no han de entrar los ganados en los montes en que
oviene lande (1262) (108)

Subordinate Clause

por que non avie de que pechar aquella calonna, entrol
una vinna que avie, e vendio la por los dineros que a
mi avie de dar daquela calonna (1261) (105)

nos por saber que oviemos de les facer bien e mercet
. . . mandamos . . . que fuesen pesquerir e saber ver-
dat (1262) (106)

que les den toda la renda que han de aver del tiempo que
lo tovo Pero Lasso e no lo pago e despues aca
(1269) (114)

por esta razon . . . perdien el derecho que dellos an de
aver (1290) (135)

CONDITIONAL

Past Future

auer de

Subordinate Clause

les dieron muchas franquezas por que aquellos que las
avien de servir² mas onrrada mientre e mas sin embargo
pudiessen fazer servicio a Dios (1260) (102)

FLECTIONAL AUXILIARY

Present Indicative

auer de

Subordinate Clause

dicen que an omes en essa merindat que vos avedes de veer
que les fazen tuerto (1269) (113)

¹que se tornen = han de tornar.

²This conditional is really an imperfect subjunctive.

en essa merindat que vos avedes de veer (1269) (113)

Future Subjunctive

auer de

Subordinate Clause

vos mando . . . que apoderedes de aquellos vassallos al cabildo de Govasrruvias o al omme que lo oviere de recabdar por ellos en la tenencia que los ellos avien al tiempo que ge los tomaron . . . ; e que fagades a aquellos o a aquellas que el omme que lo oviere de recabdar por el cabildo mostrare que assi les tomaran aquellos vassallos por fuerça (1290) (135)

E. CARTULARIO DEL MONASTERIO DE ESLONZA¹

NECESSITY

auer

Main Clause

nudos etiam abeo recedere tantum ex illo tollentes quantum in eo intulimus (1193) (183)

el que morasse en Algadeffe que heredit touiesse del monesterio e la vendiesse de guissa quel no ficasse y mays de uender aquella aya dar della el terçio del preçio al monesterio (1284) (373)

Subordinate Clause

dum constet nos nudos in hoc seculo natos forae nudos tibi abeo recedere tantum ex illo tollentes quantum in eo intulimus (1178) (156)

dum constet nos nudos in hoc seculo natos fuisse nudos et habeo recedere tantum ex illo tollentes quantum in eo intulimus (1179) (159)

dum constet nos nudos fore natos in hoc seculo nudi eciam recedere abeo tantum tollentes ex illo quantum intulimus in eo (1181) (162)

auer a

Subordinate Clause

et amatestes pro ipsas terras et pro ipsa uinea L^a eminas

¹Cartulario del Monasterio de Eslonza, publicado por V[icente] V[ignau], primera parte, Madrid, 1885.

de uino de renobo que abuimus addare (1071) (357)

et aflagit unde prioriter diximus ipsas uineas pro uino
que abuimus a dare de renuo a uobis . . . ipso uino III^s
eminas et III Kls. (1084) (76)

quarenta e VI cargas de pan . . . que este Iohan Perez
auia a dar a este don abbad e conuento (1286) (263)

auer de

Subordinate Clause

mandaua que non recodissen al abbat nin al conuento con
ninguna cossa fasta que mostrassen priuilegio por quello
auian de auer (1284) (373)

FUTURE INDICATIVE

auer

No examples

auer a

Main Clause

ipsa hereditate ab integro damus nos ad uobis et conce-
dimus cuncta que supra diximus et omnes abitantes in ea
auetis adprendere et perpetim obtinere ipsa corte quo-
modo obtinuit (1094) (85)

auer de

No examples

FLECTIONAL AUXILIARY

Imperfect Indicative

auer

Subordinate Clause

e daqueste pan de suso dicho et de todos derechos que
auer auia de la deuandicha egrisia me quito por sempre
per esta carta (1252) (240)

auer a

No examples

auer de

No examples

Preterit

auer

No examples

auer a

Subordinate Clause

nos otorgamos por bien pagados de dues yugarias de here-
dade e de vinas pora tres eminas de vino que nos ouiestes
a dar en Payares uos e uuestro marido (1270) (255)

auer de

Subordinate Clause

uos mando que vista esta mi carta que ffagades a los omes
de Algadeffe que entreguen al abbat e al conuento sobre-
dicho o al so personero los fueros quelles ouieren de
ffazer des aquel tienpo que selles alçaron con ellos aca
o la estimaçion dellos (1271) (41)

F. BIBLIA MEDIEVAL ROMANCEADA¹

NECESSITY

auer

¹Biblia medieval romanceada, I: Pentateuco, ed. Américo Castro, Agustín Millares Carlo y Ángel J. Battistessa, Buenos Aires, 1927. Genesis, Exodus, and Leviticus through chapter VI of this edition are a reproduction of the Escorial MS I-j-3, while Leviticus beginning with chapter VII, Numbers, and Deuteronomy are a reproduction of the Escorial MS I-j-8. MS I-j-3 follows the Hebrew version; MS I-j-8 follows the Vulgate (p. ix). Accordingly, our citations from this text of the Pentateuch, if they come from the part that represents MS I-j-3, will be followed by an English translation; if they come from the part that represents MS I-j-8, they will be followed by a Latin translation. The English translations are taken from The Old Testament, an American Translation by Alexander R. Gordon, Theophile J. Meek, J. M. Powis Smith, Leroy Waterman, edited by J. M. Powis Smith, Chicago, [1927]. On pp. v-vi of this work, one will note that the translation is based on the official Massoretic text. Departures from it are indicated in the Appendix. Since none of the citations used are entered in the Appendix, they are throughout based on the official Hebrew text. The Latin translations are taken from the Vulgate as printed in La Biblia Vulgata Latina, traducida al español por Felipe Scio de San Miguel, novísima segunda edición trasladada . . . de la tercera y además cotejada con la edición Romana de 1593, I-II, Madrid, 1850.

Main Clause

quoal manzieilla o liuor fiziere, tal la aura soffrir
(Lev., XXIV: 20)
qualem inflixerit maculum, talem sustinere cogetur

auer a

Main Clause

[s]il ploguiere aura a tener el uoto (Num., XXX: 4)
et tacuerit, voti rea erit

Subordinate Clause

et quando ouieredes ad andar, coldran [read: toldran]
eillos la tienda; et quando ouieredes a fincar tiendas,
algarla an (Num., I; 51)
cum proficiscendum fuerit, deponent levitae tabernaculum:
cum castrametandum, erigent

e sepan cada uno que cargas an a leuar (Num., IV: 27)
et scient singuli cui debeant oneri mancipari

que entrauan al seruicio de la tienda e que auian a
traer¹ las cargas (Num., IV: 47)
ingredientes ad ministerium tabernaculi, et onera portanda

pora lo que auian a fazer (Num., VII: 7)
iuxta id quod habebant necessarium

puedas llamar todo el pueblo quando las aluergadas
ouieren a mouer (Num., X: 2)
convocare possis multitudinem quando movenda sunt castra

quando el pueblo se ouiere a allegar (Num., X: 7)
quando autem congregandus est populus

car tu sabes en quaoles logares auemos a poner las al-
uergadas (Num., X: 31)
tu enim nosti in quibus locis . . . castra ponere debeamus

mas de lo que ouiere Eleazar el sacerdot a fazer, deman-
dara conseio a Dios (Num., XXVII: 21)
si quid agendum erit, Eleazar Sacerdos consulat Dominum

auer de

Subordinate Clause

esta es la merced que has de fazer comigo (Gen., XX: 13)
this is the kindness that you must do me

¹ Here the Latin has the gerundive expressing purpose, which the translator seems to have interpreted to mean necessity or obligation.

que non ha de heredar el fijo desta sierua con mi fijo
(Gen., XXI: 10)
for this slave-girl's son must not share the inheritance
with my son

lo que avedes de cozinar, cozinadlo, e lo que avedes de
fianbrar, fianbrad (Exo., XVI: 23)
bake what you need to bake, and boil what you need to boil

el camino en que han de andar e la obra que han de fazer
(Exo., XVIII: 20)
the way in which they are to walk and what they are to do

avedes muchos ganados, et han de fincar en las villas
que vos di (Deu., III: 19)
plura habeatis pecora, et in urbibus remanere debebunt
quas tradidi vobis

Clause with auer a or auer de
to Translate Cultus, Officium, or Ministerium¹

auer

No examples

auer a

Subordinate Clause

aquesto es lo que an a fazer los fijos de Chaat
(Num., IV: 4)

hic est cultus filiorum Caath

esto es lo que an a fazer las conpaynnas de Gersson
(Num., IV: 28)

hic est cultus familiae gersonitarum

cada uno segunt el seruicio que avia de fazer e sus
cargas a trer² (Num., IV: 49)
unumquemque juxta officium et onera sua

que no muera . . . et otro ombre que vse lo que eill
auie a fer (Deu., XX: 6)
ne forte moriatur . . . et alius homo ejus fungatur
officio

auer de

Subordinate Clause

¹In this case, the clause states one's business or occupation. Sometimes the idea of duty is present; often it expresses the purpose for which a person or a group of persons are set aside, picked, or appointed.

²This is an interesting example in that after avia the preposition de is used, but when there is no vowel in the termination of the preceding word nor at the beginning of the following word, the preposition a is used.

aquesto es lo que an de fazer (Num., IV: 33)
hic est officium

cada uno segunt el seruicio que avia de fazer e sus cargas
a trer (Num., IV: 49)
unumquemque juxta officium et onera sua

e darlos as a los leuitas pora lo que an de fazer
(Num., VII: 5)
et trades ea levitis juxta ordinem ministerii sui

dio a los fijos de Merary, segunt lo que auian de fazer
(Num., VII: 8)
dedit filiis Merari, secundum officia et cultum suum

FUTURE

auer

Subordinate Clause

las rriquezas que Dios nos a dar (Num., X: 32)
opibus, quas nobis traditurus est Dominus

las ciubdades que as auer (Deu., XX: 15)
urbibus quas in possessionem accepturus es

auer a

Subordinate Clause

Canaan, en que vos yo he a meter (Lev., XVIII: 3)
Chanaam, ad quam ego introducturus sum vos

la tierra en que auedes a entrar e a morar (Lev., XX: 22)
terra quam intraturi estis et habituri

al logar que Dios . . . a nos a dar¹ (Num., X: 29)
ad locum quem Dominus daturus est nobis

la tierra . . . que yo he a dar (Num., XIII: 3)
terram . . . quam daturus sum

la tierra que yo he a dar (Num., XX: 24)
terram quam dedi²

¹
This case is altogether doubtful because it is impossible to tell whether the a preceding nos is a preposition or a verb form, for the preposition is both used and omitted before the indirect object pronoun: las rriquezas que Dios nos a dar (Num. X: 32); la sierra . . . que . . . Dios nos ha a dar (Deu., I: 20); la buena tierra que a vos a a dar (Deu., IV: 21).

²
In spite of the fact that the Latin has the perfect, the Spanish construction is in every respect identical with the others quoted in this section.

la tierra que yo <u>he a dar</u> terram quam <u>daturus sum</u>	(Num., XXVII: 12)
al lugar que Dios les <u>ha a dar</u> in locum quem eis <u>daturus est Dominus</u>	(Num., XXXII: 7)
la sierra . . . que . . . Dios nos <u>ha a dar</u> montem . . . quem . . . Deus <u>daturus est nobis</u>	(Deu., I: 20)
la tierra que . . . Dios nos <u>a a dar</u> terra quam . . . Deus . . . <u>daturus est nobis</u>	(Deu., I: 25)
la tierra que . . . Dios nos <u>ha a dar</u> terram quam . . . Deus . . . <u>daturus est nobis</u>	(Deu., II: 29)
la tierra que les <u>ha a dar</u> terram quam <u>daturus est eis</u>	(Deu., III: 20)
los rregnos a que tu <u>as a yr</u> regnis ad quae <u>transiturus es</u>	(Deu., III: 21)
la tierra que <u>auedes a eredar</u> terra quam <u>possessuri estis</u>	(Deu., IV: 5)
la buena tierra que a vos <u>a a dar</u> terram optimam quam <u>daturus est vobis</u>	(Deu., IV: 21)
la tierra que . . . <u>auedes a eredar</u> terra quam . . . <u>possessuri estis</u>	(Deu., IV: 26)
las naciones do uos <u>ha Dios a leuar</u> nationibus ad quas <u>vos ducturus est Dominus</u>	(Deu., IV: 27)
la tierra que Dios . . . <u>te ha a dar</u> terram quam . . . Deus . . . <u>daturus est tibi</u>	(Deu., IV: 40)
la . . . tierra que Dios vos <u>a a dar</u> terra . . . quam Dominus <u>daturus est vobis</u>	(Deu., XI: 17)
la tierra por do <u>auedes vos a andar</u> terram quam <u>calcaturi estis</u>	(Deu., XI: 25)
la tierra que <u>has a eredar</u> terram, ad quam <u>pergis habitandam</u> ¹	(Deu., XI: 29)
la tierra que . . . Dios vos <u>a a dar</u> terram quam . . . Deus . . . <u>daturus est vobis</u>	(Deu., XI: 31)
la tierra que . . . Dios . . . vos <u>a a dar</u> terra quam . . . Deus . . . <u>daturus est tibi</u>	(Deu., XII: 1)
las gens que <u>auedes a eredar</u> gentes, quas <u>possessuri estis</u>	(Deu., XII: 2)

¹The Latin text here expresses purpose, which, however, is not present in the Spanish. Comparison with the other citations shows clearly that the future is intended. As for the gerundive, though expressing purpose, the time is necessarily future.

al eredamiento que vuestro Dios vos a a dar
(Deu., XII: 9)
ad . . . possessionem quam . . . Deus vester daturus est
vobis

las gens, que tu as a heredar (Deu., XII: 29)
gentes, ad quas ingredieris possidendas¹

la tierra que vos a a dar (Deu., XV: 4)
terra quam traditurus est tibi

las villas que el tu Dios te ha a dar (Deu., XVI: 5)
urbium . . . quas . . . Deus tuus daturus est tibi

la tierra que . . . Dios te a a dar (Deu., XVIII: 9)
terram quam . . . Deus . . . dabit tibi

auer de

Main Clause

el criado de mi casa me ha de heredar (Gen., XV: 3)
my household slave will be my heir

a el se han de aconpannar pueblos (Gen., XLIX: 10)
to him shall the peoples be obedient

e por el aluelldrio del sacerdot a de ser apartado
(Lev., XIII: 3)
et ad arbitrium eius separabitur

Subordinate Clause

¿sy vno que viene para morar ha de judgar juyzio?
(Gen., XIX: 9)
this fellow came in as an immigrant . . . and now he
would make himself a judge!

¿sy por que eres mi hermano me has de servir de balde?
(Gen., XXIX: 15)
should you, just because you are a relative of mine, work
for me for nothing?

¿sy avemos de venir yo e tu madre e tus hermanos a omi-
llar a ty, a tierra? (Gen., XXXVII: 10)
am I actually to come with your mother and brothers, and
make obeisance to the earth to you?

la fanbre . . . ha de ser muy graue (Gen., XLI: 31)
that famine . . . will be very severe

e mostrarte he lo que has de fablar (Exo., IV: 12)
and [I] will instruct you what to say

rruegote, mi Sennor, que enbies en mano de quien has de
enbiar (Exo., IV: 13)
pray, O Lord, commission whom thou wilt

¹See supra, p. 53, ftn.

e mostrarvos he lo que avedes de fazer (Exo., IV: 15)
and I will instruct you . . . what to do

¿quien e quien son los que han de yr?¹ (Exo., X: 8)
which ones are to go?

el mayor de Faraon que se ha de asentar en su silla²
(Exo., XI: 5)
Pharoah's first-born who is to sit on his throne

la tierra que as de ueer (Deu., III: 28)
terram, quam visurus es

CONDITIONAL

Past Future

auer

No examples

auer a

Subordinate Clause

car no entrara en la tierra que yo he a dar a los fijos
de Israhel, porque non creyo a la mi boca de las aguas
que auien a saillir de la piedra (Num., XX: 24)
non enim intrabit terram quam dedi filiis Israël, eò quod
incredulus fuerit ori meo ad Aguas contradictionis

e mando a mi en aquel tiempo que vos mostrasse los man-
damientos e los juizios que deuiedes fazer en la tierra
que auiedes a eredar³ (Deu., IV: 14)

mihique mandavit in illo tempore ut docerem vos caere-
monias et iudicia que facere deberetis in terra quam
possessuri estis

auer de

Subordinate Clause

¿sy commo a puta se auia de fazer a nuestra hermana?
(Gen., XXXIV: 31)
could our sister be treated like a harlot?

¹The answer to this question is: E dixo Muysen: Con nues-
tros moços e con nuestros viejos yremos, con nuestros fijos e con
nuestras fijas, e con nuestras ovejas e vacas yremos . . . (Exo.,
X: 9).

²The Vulgate has sedet, which Scio translates se sienta.
In the note to it, he says: que como principe jurado le ha de
suceder en el trono; el presente por el futuro.

³In spite of possessuri estis the Spanish uses the con-
ditional, which is required by the sequence of tenses.

e oyeron que ay auia de comer pan¹ (Gen., XLIII: 25)
they had heard that they were to dine there

FLECTIONAL AUXILIARY

Present Indicative

auer

No examples

auer a

No examples

auer de

Subordinate Clause

et sy ha de tomar Jacob muger de las fijas de Hed . . .
¿para que es a mí la vida? (Gen., XXVII: 46)
if Jacob marries a Hittite woman, . . . what good will
life be to me?

Imperfect Indicative

auer

No examples

auer a

Subordinate Clause

et quando auien a fazer conceillo eran llamados por sus
nombres (Num., XVI: 2)
et qui tempore concilii per nomina vocabuntur

auer de

No examples

Preterit

auer

No examples

auer a

Main Clause

apartada ouo a seer Maria (Num., XII: 15)
exclusa est itaque Maria

¹The conditional is the usual construction after verbs of hearing.

auer de

No examples

Future Subjunctive

auer

No examples

auer a

No examples

auer de

Subordinate Clause

quando ouieren de entrar en el tauernaculo, se lauen
(Exo., XXX: 20)
whenever they enter the tent of meeting, they must wash
themselves

e apiadare al que ouiere de apiadar, e congraçiare al
que ouiere de congraçiar (Exo., XXXIII: 19)
I am gracious to those to whom I am gracious, and com-
passionate with those with whom I am compassionate

Doubtful case:

muera el que ouier de ser justiciado (Deu., XVII: 6)
perebit qui interficietur

IMMINENCE¹

auer

No examples

auer a

No examples

auer de

Subordinate Clause

que avemos de dannar este lugar (Gen., XIX: 13)
for we are about to destroy this place

¹We are more accustomed to finding this idea expressed by querer or estar para plus an infinitive. Often, it is really a future, differing from the more usual future in that the action mentioned or described follows immediately or almost immediately.

G. PRIMERA CRONICA GENERAL¹

NECESSITY

auer

Main Clause

partigse el rey dellos, et tornosse pora su lugar o auie
estar² (625b27)

auer a

Main Clause

auie conquista la tierra e auien le por fuerça a dar los
omnes la meatad de quanto auien (95b25)

non pudo alli estar la hueste de los romanos, e ouosse a
leuantar ende por que les llego a los de Carthago grand
ayuda (47b12)

e fizieron se tan pesados que los non podien traer, et
ouieron los a dexar (54b13)

ouieron se a tornar por fuerça (75b28)

auien por fuerça a seer buenos (93b13)

mas no los pudo matar, ante ouo a lidiar otras uезes con
ellos (98a35-36)

ouieran por fuerça a lidiar otra uegada (98b27-28)

et por que uio que lo no podie partir de si por ruego,
maltroxo los, et amenazolos fuerte; et ouieron se a yr
sin otra paga (131a13)

se allego tod el Senado de Roma, et mandaron cuemo por
fuerça et por sentencia que recibiesse ell imperio Helio
Pertinax, el non queriendo seer emperador en ninguna
manera . . . Pero ouolo a recebir mal so grado (157a35)

guerreo Athaulpho las Francias luengo tiempo, et ouieron
le a obedecer por sennor (232b19)

ouo por fuerça³ a tornar (238b25)

ouieron a dar el castiello al conde por fuerça (391b48)

¹Primera Crónica General, ed. Ramón Menéndez Pidal, Madrid, 1906 (Nueva Biblioteca de Autores Españoles, V).

²MSS F and O read: auie a estar.

³We have suppressed a comma after the word fuerça.

esta tierra es angosta et non podemos en ella fincar . . .
et de como yo cuedo a yr nos auremos daqui (530a34)

Abenrrazin . . . auiel a pechar X mill marauedis por la
postura que con el pusiera (565a9)

ca non era logar o los podiesen echar çelada nin que se
podiesen guardar de su danno, et auien a estar todauia
armados (751a50)

quando la metieron en la uilla non pudo caber por la puer-
ta, et ouieron a tirar las puertas et a ensanchar la en-
trada (769a9)

Doubtful Cases:

pero al cabo ouieron se a uencer por que non auien quien
los ayudasse, et dexaron la tierra (207b13)

pero que peso al rey mucho, ouolo a fazer, et enbio de
cabo sus mandaderos al emperador (353a25)

el Çid ouo a fazer lo que el rey le mando, mucho amidos
de ssi (619a40)

çercara III reyes et tenielos çercados, et auienselo a
dar a terçer dia (699b22-23)

Subordinate Clause

el braço del mar que auien a passar por nauio (11b7)

fue contra ellos tan mal andante por que ouo a fazer tal
pleytesia que non fue onra de los romanos (29a19)

en cabo fueron uençudos los de Persia, ca de guisa sopie-
ron los de Tiro soffrillos e deffender se dellos, que por
fuerça los ouieron a uencer e los echaron de toda su
tierra (31b27)

llegaron estonce los ricos omnes que auien a yr¹ con
ella, com en semeiança que la querien guardar e onrar
fasta que llegasse a so hermano (34a21)

ca touo que era mejor pedirles poco, e yr todauia crecien-
do, que non pedilles mucho, e auer depues a menguar
(35a29-30)

quando uino el plazo de los tres meses, quando auie a dar
respuesta a aquellos mandaderos, subio² en una grand

¹They did this in obedience to the command of Pigmalion, Dido's brother: enuiol sos omnes com en razon que la aguardassen e uiniessen con ella; pero mandoles que metiessen mientes que aquell auer nos ascondiesse, por que lo el non pudiesse auer (33b47-51).

²Menéndez Pidal has the comma after the word subio. This is clearly a mistake, and we have put it before subio.

torre

(38a15)

pues que a perder te, mas querria que fues seyendo tu uiuo que muerto (41a7-8)

en cabo tan mal trechos fueron los dAffrica en esta segunda guerra, por que ouieron a seer so el poderio de los romanos e a obedecellos (45a3-4)

auien esta costumbre: que quando yuan a alguna tierra que se les alçaua e la tornauan al sennorio, o a recabdar los derechos que ende auien a auer, que siempre trayen a Roma de las estrannezas que alla fallauan (57a1)

aquella agua que el auie a passar tenie en ancho siete mil passos (59a18)

uino a logares tan fuertes et tan trabajaosos, que ouo a descender del cauallo, et leuarle por la rienda(60a34-5)

de manera que los de Petreo et de Affranio non pudiessen auer agua de ninguna part, et que los aquexarien alli con la sed, de guisa que sin lid aurien a uenir a lo que el quisiesse (74b54)

otrossi fizieron cogedores et recabdadores de los sos derechos et de los tributos et de los aueres que auien a auer por las tierras (87b16)

estos consules daquel anno primero, no auiendo a seer mas de dos en el anno, fueron cinco (88a35)

desque uencie alguna grand batalla, soltaua los caualleros de los oficios que auien, et del seruicio quel auien a fazer, et dexaua los andar folgando (93b23)

començo a pensar Nero en muchas guisas por tal de no auer a obedecer a Galba (127b43)

auien ellos por fuerça a dexar la guerra que auien entre si, et a uenir contra nos (136a13-14)

auien por ley a ayuntar se y entonce todas las gentes (136b18)

era muy uagaroso en dar las dignidades a los nobles omnes a qui las auie a dar (137a39)

non quisieron obedecer a Roma, nin darle las rendas ni los pechos quel auien a dar (158b1-2)

si por auentura se danna en ellos alguna cosa los omnes que los fazen los an a adobar (185a31)

derecho et con razon es aqueste iuyzio que por fuerça de los dichos de los sus libros aya cada uno a otorgar o a negar aquello que cree (189b19-20)

ouieron por fuerça a poner pazes en aquellos logares (202a8-9)

a Sangibano con los alanos pusieron en la delantera por tal que ouiesse a seer bueno por fuerça (235a38)

se ouo por fuerça a tornar (241a2-3)

por fuerça le ouieron a enuiar demandar treguas et ganar-las et ponerlas con ell (370b12)

ueno luego sobrel con grand hueste et guerreol porque tomara el solo el imperio que auie a seer de su sobrino (379b25)

los caualleros fueron despagados dell porque siempre auien a andar armados et nunqua los dexaua folgar (398a5)

fueron en mui grand priessa los castellanos, ca auien a passar un rio que uinie turuio et muy grand de las aguas muchas que auie fechas (399a2-3)

ouieron por fuerça a desamparar las pueblas (399b45-46)

ouo a salir de la tierra por fuerça et yrse (409a16-17)

non dio nada por el toro, nin dexo de yr su carrera su passo pora essa plaça do estaua el toro, ca por alli auie el a entrar a ueer al rey (444a13)

por fuerça le ouieron a dar las puertas et recebirle con su hueste (459b11-12)

por fuerça se le ouieron a dar et meterse so el su sennorio (480a17-18)

por fuerça de la premia que el rey don Jaymes les fazie, se le ouieron a dar et meterse so el su sennorio (480a31-32)

se ouo a dar por fuerça (486b29)

el rey don Sancho pues que fue regnando et andando por su regno, mesuro et uio como era ell el primero fijo et el heredero, et como auie su padre partidos todos los regnos que ayuntara Dios en el, et que los ouiera a dexas a ell et heredarlos ell¹ otrossi todos (495a34-35)

tornaron las espaldas et començaron de foyr, de guisa que se ouo el rey Ramiro a arrancar et dexas el campo al rey don Sancho (496b35-36)

ouieron grand pesar porque tan luengo tiempo auien estado cercados et agora al cabo que auien a dar² la villa (509b26)

¹It may be of interest to note that the subject of the second infinitive is not the same as that of the first, which is just another way of saying that with the first infinitive the subject of ouiera is the padre, with the second infinitive the subject of ouiera is the hijo, that is, Sancho.

²They had to give it to Sancho in obedience to a command from Urraca: mandouos que dedes la villa al rey don Sancho (509b20).

si yo tal so como tu dizes, non ouiera yo a nascer¹
(513b25)

tenien . . . quel aurie a fazer por fuerça fuertes pos-
turas (514b12)

el capitulo de como fallaron por derecho que quien rep-
taua conceio que auie a lidiar con cinco uno en pos otro
(515b32)

mostraronles el cerco et la raya del, do non auien a
salir afuera (516b39)

daquel lugar fазie el mucho mal a Medina et a Theruel et
a las otras villas de aderedor, de guisa quel ouieron
todos a pechar (530b40-41)

ca esta uida auremos nos a fazer fasta que Dios quiera
(534a26)

fallescioles las uiandas et ouieronse a dar al rey don
Alffonso (538b7-8)

las achaques por que este Yahia Alcadir . . . ouo a dexar
Toledo fueron muchas (547b25)

el rey de Valencia estaua con grand quexa con Aluar Hannez
por la espenssa quel auie a dar (551b48)

de guisa que los castilleros non ouiessem rentas ningunas
pora esforçar a defenderse, et que enflaquegrien et aurien
por ende a fazer una destas cosas (560b32)

enuio luego dezir a los que tenien los castiellos que
diessen al rey de Valencia aquellos derechos quel auien
a dar, assi como solien en otro tiempo (562a24)

desi sallio Abenabduz su almoxerif, et fue a la casa del
almoxeridfago et fizo su remenbrança de los omnes que
auien menester seruicios; et puso a cada vno en su ser-
uicio, segunt que lo auie a fazer (569b46)

luego fueron prestos al lugar o se auien a armar, et
aiuntar (596b39-40)

mando fazer sennal a que se auien todos a llegar (603a11)

commo auedes a fazer dalli adelante, yo uos los mostrare
(634b14)

de commo esto serie, et ellos auien a fazer por que se
cumpliesse, todo lo querie el dexar² en mano del obispo
don Geronimo (634b40)

¹ MS O reads: ouiera yo nascer; F: ouiera de nascer.

² We may note here that for querie dexar MSS E and O read:
dexarie.

en commo auredes a fazer despues desto, yo uos lo enennare
cras quando fiziere el mio testamento (635b26-27)

se ouo por fuerça a sallirse (711b34-35)

ouieron a dar la uilla por fuerça al rey (729a29)

todos sodes caualleros fijos dalgo, et deuedes a saber lo
que auedes a fazer en tal fecho commo este: ca non biuremos
por sienpre, et a morir auemos, et de la muerte ninguno de
nos non se puede escusar (738b23 & 25)

ca a la çima ouieronlo a fazer, mal su grado (742a27)

tanto la afinco de gerra et de grandes combatimientos,
que con esto, que con la grant fanbre que auien ya los de
dentro, que se ouieron a dar et a meterse en merçed del
infante et en su poder (744b1)

Doubtful cases:

tan luenga les fincaua la guerra, et tantas las batallas
por o auien a pasar pora complir lo que Julio Cesar
querie, que antes que las acabassen, serien muertos
quantos con ell eran (77a43)

tan grand estudio ponie en guardar la uoz cuemo vos de
susso dixiemos, que por tal de la guardar, quando auie de
llamar algun cauallero, otri lo llamaua por el, et lo
quel auie a dezir, diziegelo muy quedo (122b47)

recibiol tan desdenosamientre por que fuera assi uençido,
que assi commo estaua uestido con sus pannos de por-
pola, commo Cesar deuie seer, ouo a correr a pie yaquantos
migeros antel carro de Diocleciano. Mas quando uio
aquello Galerio Maximiano, tornosse pora tierra de
Illirico (177a24)

era el muy pobre de tesoro; de guisa que en las fiestas
cada que conuidaua huespedes, siempre auie a demandar
xaruiellas et uasos et escudiellas emprestadas (180a6)

començo el santo uieio a porfiar en ello tan de rezió,
que ouieron todos a callar (191b27-28)

no fallamos escripta ninguna cosa granada sino la con-
tienda dell emperador Honorio con los godos, porque les
ouo a dar tierra de Francia en que uisquiesse (206b22)

Eurico guisosse con todo su poder, et fue lidiar con el
(Riotoño, el rey de los bretones); et uenciolo et matol
mucha gente, assi que se ouo a tornar muy desonrado a
Bretanna (241b30)

Zaman rey de Cordoua auie escriptas todas las rendas que
los de Espanna auien a dar cada anno al rey de los ala-
raues (327a16)

quando el conde et el uinieron a la cuenta, fallaron que
tanto era ya pulado, auiendo a ser doblado cada dia segund

la postura, que quantos omnes en Espanna auie que lo non
podrien pagar (422a28)

esse rey don Ramiro otrossi en tan grand priessa se uio
que ouo a foyr desnuyo en pannos de lino et descalço, et
en cauallo sin siella et sin freno que non leuaua al sinon
el cabestro (481b51)

pero a esta pleytesia; que se fincassen y los moros que
estonces eran y moradores, et que fuessen sus uassallos,
et que diessen a el los derechos que al sennorio auien a
dar (486a43)

a la entrada de Santiago et en la estada et en sus vigi-
lias que rey romero auie a fazer, tantos complimientos et
tantas marauillas et onrras le fizieron padre et hijos
(657a35)

uos lo ruego mucho que dedes luego aqui al conde don Ponç
de Minerua et a los rycos omnes de uestro regno sus
tierras et sus donadios por cuya razon auien a fazer
seruicio all emperador (666a37-38)

assi cresçio alli la fambre, que la hueste con premia de
la mingua de la uianda ouieron a comer carne en los dias
que non deuien nin lo solien fazer segund nuestra ley
(706b15-16)

en la quaraesma, a tan grand angostura uinieron de la
fambre, que el arçobispo et el cabildo de los frayres
ouieron a fablar et a departir sobrelo, et al cabo
judgaron de comer carne ante que desamparar la tierra
(707a7-8)

auer de

Main Clause

a ti he de gradecer por que so yo aun uiua (135b15)

pues que las paredes daquela eglesias [read: eglesia]
fueron alçadas como deuien, auien aun de poner en ell un
fastial della una piedra ayment (268a2)

los romanos quando se uiron tan maltrechos et que assi
murien con couardia, esforçaron et tornaron a ellos, et
ouieron assi su batalla muy grand; pero al cabo ouieron
se de uençer los romanos (270a22)

aun ante que fuesse alçado rey era mucho onrrado, assi
que todos tienien que ell aurie de regnar despues del rey
Recesuindo, e acordaron se todos en ell e alçaron le rey
(283b41-42)

estos son dizenueue obispados, et an de obedecer all
arçobispado de Toledo (297a9)

estos son nueue obispados et an de obedescer all arçobis-
pado de Seuilla (297a37-38)

estos obispados son treze et an de obedecer al arçobispado
de Merida (297b26)

el non se les podiendo deffender, ouosse de uencer
(336b16-17)

el uiçioso et el lazrado amos an de morir, et non lo
puede escusar ell uno nin ell otro (398b12)

el sennor ase de conseiar mucho a menudo por que non le
ayan los omnes en quel trauar (419a38)

ouose de tornar a su tierra apesar de si por esta pesti-
lencia quel ueno (449a24)

ouieronse de uencer por fuerça (456b15)

el rey Yssem . . . demandol aquellas cartas que Çulema
le enuiara; et el ouogelas de dar (459b40)

porque los altos omnes de la hueste de Abderrahmen eran
partidos en uandos por aquel bollicio que entrara entre-
llos . . . ouieronse de uencer los de la hueste de Abderrahmen
por aquella razon, et fuxieron (463b8-9)

ouo de fazer mandamiento del rey don Sancho que era su
sennor natural (498b26)

si a Valencia viniesse . . . aurie de lidiar con ocho mil
caualleros de cristianos (573a36)

en los uestros palacios non ha de posar otro, sinon uos
(615b3)

Doubtful cases:

e por que en el logar no auie poblança ninguna sino la
torre que Hercules fiziera, ouo de morar en tiendas fasta
que fizo y una villa pequenna en que moraua (11a44)

et el mayordomo ouose de tornar sin recabdo (422a32)

mas lo quel fue prometido et otorgado ouo de ser, et al
non (771a15)

Subordinate Clause

auie escriptas letras en derredor en que yazien escriptos
todos los saberes e las naturas de las cosas et cuemo
sauien dobrar (12b47)

rogol quel conseiasse com auie de fazer en aquel fecho
(32a53)

tan brauos uos les mostrad que tamanno miedo tomen ende,
que por fuerça se ayan de tornar de faz contra uos
(72a54)

e con amor de lidiar por ganar y, crecioles en los cora-
çones la nemiga que auie de contecer (73a18)

se ouo de acoger por fuerça (84a10)

auino assi . . . que poco tiempo ante de la muerte de Julio Cesar contescieron por el mundo muchas sennales por que pudiera ell entender su muerte, si de escapar ouiera¹ (96a7)

tan grand estudio ponie en guardar la uoz . . . que por tal de la guardar, quando auie de llamar algun cauallero, otri lo llamaua por el (122b46)

no daua ninguna cosa a los que lo auien de heredar (140b46)

ni digo cosas de uerguenna, ni de que me aya de repentir (143a24)

sopo por demostrança del Nuestro Sennor que auie de fazer (182b14)

fizo ge la [la piedra] leuar al logar del laur o la auien de poner; e ell assi como albanne assento la allí o auie de estar (268a20 & 21)

ell obispado de Dumio que a de obedescer a Bragana tenga la tierra dell Rey (296a3)

dell arçobispado de Toledo et de los obispados quel an de obedescer (296b11)

dell arçobispado de Seuilla et de los obispados quel an de obedescer (297a13)

dell arçobispado de Merida et de los obispados quel an de obedescer (297a41)

ya de suso dixiemos en ell arçobispado de Bragana, el que partio el rey Theodemiro, que ell obispado de Edanna et de Viseo que auien a el de obedescer; e aquí puso el rey Bamba que obedesciessen² al de Merida (297b30)

estas son ocho siellas obispales que an de obedescer all arçobispo de Bragana (298a17)

dell arçobispado de Tarragona et de los obispados quel an de obedescer (298a21)

estas son quinze siellas obispales que an de obedescer all arçobispado de Tarragona (298b10)

1

The chapter in which this citation occurs ends up with these words: mas por todas estas sennales non pudo Julio Cesar desfuir la muerte (96b4-5).

2

This verb obedesciessen seems to have the same meaning as auien . . . de obedescer.

estas son seys siellas obispales que han de obedescer¹ all
arçobispado de Narbona (298b28-29)

auino assí que ouo de yr este cuende Julian . . . a tierra
de Africa en mandadería del rey Rodrigo (307b42-43)

desamparo las oueias que auie de guardar como allegadizo
et malo, ca non como buen pastor (309a1)

alçaronsele bien por quatro annos muchas dellas prouinçias
quel auien de obedescer (328b12-13)

pues que el rey . . . ouo poblados los logares que uio
que podrie mantener . . . et puestos obispos allí o los
auie de auer, . . . trabaiosse . . . de fazer seruicio a
Dios (337a52)

todos los reys moros de Espanna auien de obedescer al
sennor de Cordoua (339b47)

Ambroz sabie ya todo el fecho et commo auie de fazer
(352a6)

o quan buen uergel et quan fermoso et quan sabroso sieglo
este, si nunca omne ouiesse de morir en ell (377b1)

los moros non lo pudieron ya soffrir, et ouieronse de
arrancar por fuerça et dexar a los cristianos el campo
(405b8-9)

el conde quando oyo aquel mandado, pesol de coraçon, ca
se tenie por maltrecho en besar mano a otro; mas pero
todauiá ouo de yr alla (409b34)

el conde . . . touose por guarido por ello porque ueye
que salie de grand premia, et por que non aurie de besar
mano a omne del mundo (422b10)

aquellas guardas que auien de aguardar a Yssem por mandado
de Almançor (430a15-16)

fizo tanto mal en la cristiandad et tantas tierras les
astrago et les crebanto, que apremio por fuerça a aque-
llos quel el puerto tenien et aun a los otros de las tie-
rras tanto, que ouieron de uenir a ell (430a48)

dio franqueza a los caualleros castellanos que non
pechassen nin fuessen en hueste sin soldadas, ca dan-
tes del conde don Sancho pechauan los caualleros, et
auien de yr con el sennor do los auie mester (454a10)

tan grand era el miedo que dell auien los moros que
luego, a poco tiempo desde el regno, ouiera conqueridas
quantas tierras ellos tenien en Espanna, sinon que se

¹The title of the section in which this citation appears
uses deuer: del arçobispado de Narbona et de los obispos quel
deuen obedescer (298b14).

le estoruo por quanto ouo de assesegar antes los grandes
bollicies que se le leuantaran en su regno (483b12)

por fuerça ouo de uenir a el Habet Almutamiz (490a50-51)

fueronse ferir un por otro como lo aiuen de fazer (517a1)

entendio et uio que pora auerla et pora mantenerla aurie
de fazer hueste cada anno et tener la guerra cutianamientras
(558b30-31)

busco manera commo pudiesse pagar aquel auer que auie de
dar al Çid (572a3)

aiunto toda su gente et ordenolos a todos commo aurien¹ de
yr (585b29)

fizo repicar vna canpana, a la qual sennal se aiuen de ar-
mar CC caualleros (596b31)

porque el Çid biuie siempre en guerra, auie ordenado qual
sennal aiuen de fazer quando se aiuen de armar CC o CCC o
CCCC caualleros (596b33-34)

fizo fazer la sennal a que se aiuen de aiuntar² todos los
caualleros (597a29)

mando que diessen ceuada tenprano et que fuessen dormir,
et quando fues el primer gallo et oyessen la sennal a
que se aiuen de aiuntar,³ que fuessen todos en la eglesia
(597b7)

mando repicar la canpana a la qual sennal se aiuen de
ayuntar todos los omnes de armas (605b2)

el non lo podra saber por otri, et non tomara ende aquel-
la vengança que a de tomar (609b25)

¿quien uos podrie contar la cuita en que se vieron, por
esta entrega que aiuen de fazer, ellos et todos sus
parientes et sus amigos, que les era muy graue de con-
plir? (619a47)

mandoles que les demostrassen los moiones que aiuen de
guardar⁴ (626a25)

toda alma que en carne biua, por fuerça de la natura quel
puso Nuestro Sennor Dios, a de yr a la muerte (736b18)

Doubtful cases:

enuio luego por aquel que auie de casar con ella, que

¹MSS F and O read: avian.

²MS O reads: aiuen ayuntar.

³MSS F and O read: aiuen aiuntar.

⁴MSS F and O read: aiuen a guardar.

era omne de muy grand linage e fuera desposado con ella
ante que fuesse presa (22a39)

tanto tenie Julio Cesar en coraçon de yr contra Pompeyo,
que non cuidaua uer ell ora que ouiesse libradas las
conquistas que auie de fazer (64a23-24)

demandaron les con las cartas de Octauliano Cesar, que por
el reconocimiento del sennorio, que pechassen cadanno a
Roma, quando se uiniessen escreuir, cada uno por su cabe-
ça un dinero de plata o de oro, que ualiesse diez de los
de la moneda usada que corrie aquella sazón por la tierra
. . . E por que auie de valer¹ diez, por endel pusieron
nombre "dinero" (99a32)

desque se cumplio el tiempo en que auie de encaecer, pario
la duenna un fiço (164a28)

et enuiaron dezir all emperador Honorio que si los dexas-
se, que fincarién ellos en paz en Italia et no farien y
mal ninguno; et si no, por batalla se aurie de partir
(230b44)

dixol ell infant: "Galiana, bien ueo que e de fazer lo
que uos queredes (341a36)

Mynnaya tomo estonces los XXX caualllos que dixiemos et
las otras cosas que auie de leuar, et fuesse pora Castiella
(530a46-47)

este rey don Alffonsso el noble de Castiella fue et comen-
ço de guerrear a Ybda et a Alaua, et teniendola çercada
luengo tiempo, combatiola tanto fasta que se le ouo de
dar et la gano (684a21)

FUTURE

auer

No examples

auer a

Main Clause

Doubtful cases:

yo et las mis fijas uestros somos, et del mio cuerpo
et dellas non he a fazer sinon lo que uos mandaredes
(623a34)

Subordinate Clause

¿que prouecho te aura a ti el bien que otri fiziere?, ca tu

¹auie de ualer reproduces ualiesse, though one would not
expect to find the subjunctive in a causal clause.

eres mi debdor et as a auer gualardon segund lo merecieres
(142b29)

todas quantas cosas auemos nos oy a dezir contra uos,
todas seran de los uestros libros (189b10)

dixo a don Gonçalo: "cunnado, pues que lo a fazer auedes¹,
espediduos de donna Sancha, et caualguemos (435b8)

uieron uenir el Çid con CCC caualleros, ca non se acertara
ell en el comienço de la batalla--et nos auemos a dezir
aqui la una razon et la otra en este fecho, pues que la
estoria lo departe assi--et el rey Sancho quando sopo que
Roy Diaz mio Çid era aquel, plogol mucho (501b31-32)

nos non podremos librar del poder del Çid que nos a de
astragar con poder de guerra, et auemos a seer en su
poder nos et tu (582b6)

esto es: que as a dexar este mundo et yrte a la vida que
non a fin, et esto sera de oy en treynta dias (633b37-38)

en los postremeros dias de mi vida estoy commo non he a
beuir mas de estos treynta dias (634a39-40)

el primer conseio que auedes a fazer despues que yo fuere
finado, que me lauedes el cuerpo muchas vegadas (635a30)

Doubtful cases:

ya yo gennale ante uos quales tres de mi conpanna an a
lidiar² con aquellos tres (623b30-31)

pues tan grant poder trahe de moros et yo he tan ayna a³
finar, vosotros non le podredes defender Valençia
(634b8)

¹ MSS Y T Z read: de fazer auedes. Roy Blasquez had asked Gonçalo Gustioz to take a letter for him to Almançor. Gonçalo said that he would do it. Here are their words: dixo Roy Blasquez a Gonçalo Gustioz: "Cunnado . . . si lo uos touiere-des por bien, gradesçeruoslo ya mucho que fuessedes uos fasta ell [Almançor] con mis cartas . . . " Aquí respondio Gonçalo Gustioz: "don Rodrigo, mucho me plaze lo que uos queredes, et yre y muy de buena miente por complir uestra uoluntad." Roy Blasquez then prepared the letter, and with it went to Gonçalo Gustioz. Finding doña Sancha there, he told her about the errand of Gonçalo Gustioz, and addressing the latter said: "pues que lo a fazer auedes . . . " (434b41-435b8).

² This citation has many points of similarity with a famous line from the Poema del Cid: el Campeador a los que han lidiado tan bien los castigo, v. 3523 (Cantar de Mio Cid, ed. Menéndez Pidal). Menéndez Pidal thinks it expresses obligation (Cantar, I, p. 351, and II, p. 488); J. Cornu cites it as a future (Cornu, p. 225); Meyer-Lübke (Gram., II, §112) likewise accepts it as a future.

³ MS P has de in place of a.

auer de

Main Clause

sin falla te digo: este a de ser sennor de Toledo
(504b21)

pues ¿barba mesada, como ha de fazer escarnio de la que
siempre fue onrrada et temida? (622a23-24)

si, por los nuestros malos pecados, al nos a de contescer,
nunca dalli adelante nos auedes de ueer biuos nin muertos
(625a1)

Subordinate Clause

treynta annos, que es edat complida pora auer ell omne
todo el seso complido que a dauar (113b7)

"¿Que es Dios?", dixo ell emperador. E Segundo escriuió:
"voluntad que numqua a de morir . . . " (146b44)

bien se que e de seer ferido de palo o de porra (150b3)

uino nascer de la Uirgen, et priso muerte por nos, et
liuro nos por ella de la muerte que a de durar¹ por
siempre (191b40-41)

empos esto subio me al VII^o cielo, et falle y un omne
cano . . . et seyen y con el mas de setaenta uezes mill
omnes que . . . nunqua an ende de salir fasta el día
del juyzio (271b48)

nos non podremos librar del poder del Çid que nos a de
astragar con poder de guerra (582b5)

aquel que se a de asentar en este escanno, mas val que
uos (616b2-3)

el mejor conorte et la mejor melezina que seer puede pora
terminar omne, et mayormientre del mal que siempre a de
durar, la uerdadera et complida penitencia es (662a24)

roguemos a Dios por ella que la guarde por luengos tien-
pos yl de a uer las cosas que an de venir (735a30)

Doubtful cases:

a mester que . . . ayamos nuestro conseio com auemos de
fazer ante que peor nos auenga (46b3)

ca uestros sobrinos son et non an de fazer al sinon lo
que uos mandaredes (433a13)

¹Two lines below, this same idea is expressed by an adjective: la uida perdurable (191b42).

dexamos aqui de fablar . . . de los reys de Leon et de los condes de Castiella, et contaremos del comienço de los reys de Nauarra, ca por este logar auemos de uenir a contar¹ como ouo rey de Castiella primeramiente (467b19)

por este casamiento que se a de fazer, que uos, sennor, agora pusiestes (623b46)

CONDITIONAL

Past Future

auer

Subordinate Clause

otro dia de mannana llamo el pelegrino clerigos et legos quantos y estauan en la egleſia de sant Yague et dioxles lo que uiera et lo que oiera, et el dia et la ora sennaladamientre quando Coymbria auie seer presa (487b47)

adeuinaual el coraçon el pesar que auie auer dellos (625b3)

auer a

Main Clause

segund la partida que les el fiziera auie a regnar don Sancho el mayor hermano en Castiella (495a25)

Subordinate Clause

leyo en ellas que alli auie a seer² poblada la grand cibdat (9a24)

Espan no auie fiço ni fija que heredasse lo suyo sino aquella, e uiniengela pedir reyes et altos omnes dotras tierras, lo uno por ques era ella muy fermosa e muy seduda, lo al por ques auie afincar el regno a ella (11b20)

entendio por so saber que alli auie a auer³ una grand cibdat mas que no la poblarie el (13a38)

¹The whole phrase auemos de uenir a contar seems to be only a future, that is, contaremos (see Meyer-Lübke, Gram., II, §112). Compare also ouieron a uenir a guerrear (31b20), which apparently stands for guerrearon.

²The original of this inscription, put up by Hercules, is: aqui sera poblada la grand cibdat (8b43). Years later, Julius Caesar found the pieces of it, put them together, and read what we have above. The prediction, on which Hercules based his inscription, is: cibdat aurie alli muy grand (8b27).

³auie a auer and poblarie are parallel constructions.

cuenta la estoria duna marauilla que acacio en Siguença en ante desto, por que los moradores de la uilla entendieron que auien a seer destroydos¹ ellos e la cibdat (17a35-36)

bien creo que ellas fizieron aquellas sennales por mostrarme qual auie a seer el mio fado (41b38-39)

bien se mostro por uerdat la palabra que dixieran los sabios sobre la cabeça del cauallo que y fallaran, que aquel lugar auie a seer siempre de grand guerra (44b10)

diz que fue sennal del crebanto que Roma e so imperio auien a tomar por las lides destes dos principes (65a48)

mandaron fazer una escalera muy grand et muy alta, et parar la arrimada a la puerta por o ell auie a entrar a la cibdat en su uenida (91a37-38)

dize que esto mostraua que Octauiano auie a seer² muy poderoso en este mundo, et serie tenudo por muy alto et muy claro en todo el cerco de la tierra, et que en su tiempo uernie aquel que fizo el sol (97b37)

aparecieron . . . tres soles . . . et fueronse allegando . . . fasta que se ayuntaron et se fizieron un cuerpo et un sol; et departen las estorias que daua a entender dos cosas: la una que ell emperio de Roma . . . se tornarie todo en un sennor, cuemo contescio . . . ; la otra cosa et mayor que esta es que auie a nacer³ Ihesu Cristo en tiempo deste emperador Octauiano, et que se mostrarie en el mundo la Trinidad (98a4)

esto mostraua las grandes mortandades que Octauiano auie a fazer en los uandos (98a14-15)

departen aqui los sabios que se entendie por esto que en Roma auie a seer⁴ la cabeça de la cristiandat que se faze de crisma, que es de balsamo et de olio, et que dalli la recibrien las yentes pora tod el mundo (98b7)

dize que este ayuntamiento del sennorio del mundo . . . daua a entender que lo fazie el Nuestro Sennor Dios por que auie a nacer en el so tiempo (103a21)

entendieron . . . que nasciera rey que auie a seer sennor de todos los reyes del mundo (109b35-36)

¹After relating the miracle, the chapter ends up with these words: y esto fue sennal que dio grand espanto a los de la uilla, ca touleron que serien todos destroydos (17a40-42).

²auie a seer, serie tenudo, and uernie are parallel constructions.

³tornarie, auie a nacer, and mostrarie are again parallel constructions. Note the prediction of the birth of Christ at the end of the preceding citation: en su tiempo uernie aquel que fizo el sol (97b40-41).

⁴auie a seer and recibrien are parallel.

dixieran los reyes magos que auie a seer rey daquela
tierra (110a14)

dixol de cuemo yoguiera el dios con ella, et quel dixiera
que auie a parir dios (113a19)

uio estar cabo si en una cuerda el buho mandadero de la
muerte quel auie a uenir¹ much ayna (120b25-26)

entendiendo que aiuen a uenir muchas pestilencias por el
mundo, allego el por si mismo mucha llenna, et fizo muy
grand fuego, et echosse desuso, et quemosse alli (153b2)

ellas eran las madres de los ninnos que aiuen a matar pora
fenchir de sangre ell albuhera (184a13)

touo que el auie a seer sennor de tod el mundo (235a21)

fue con dos caualleros solos a San Pedro, por uer y a so
amigo frey Pelayo--el monge quel dixiera ell otra uez como
uençrie ell a Almançor et las otras cosas quel aiuen a²
acaesçer (400b6)

dixol alli sant Esidro qual dia auie de finar et la ora
en que ell alma se auie a partir de la su carne (493b19)

entendieron, segund las sennales daquellos auenimientos,
que este don Alffonssso auie a seer sennor de Toledo
(505a6)

eran herederos que aiuen a heredar et reynar (623a29)

san Pedro uino en vision al Çid Ruy Diaz et le dixo quan-
do auie a finar (633a20-21)

ca bien cuydaua el infante don Sancho que aiuen³ a fazer
duelo por el (639b19-20)

ca oyeran dezir que non aiuen a fazer duelo por el Çid
(640a11)

los condes et los ricos omnes et los otros omnes buenos,
ueyendo et seyendo ya ciertos, por los fisicos que gelo
dizien, que daquela dolencia auie ell a finar de todo en
todo, ouieron su conseio (644a24)

al cabo dixo Abentumet a aquel mencebo Abdelmon que el
auie a seer rey de los alaraues (658b36)

¹
A few lines below this citation we read: ca bien sabie
el, por lo quel dixiera ell agorero griego en Roma quando estaua
preso, que a cinco dias despues que uiesse el buho otra uez cabo
si, morrie; et assi fue (120b29-32).

²
MSS O and T have de in place of a. Also, aiuen a acaes-
çer and uençrie are in parallel constructions.

³
MS F reads: abrian.

seyendo ninno pora las connoſçençias de los bienes que en
el auien a seer (671b5)

en yendo en pos ellos, vieron ante sy por o auien a pasar
en el camino ssiete caualleros (751b31-32)

vio aquellos siete caualleros de moros como le estauan
delante, teniendol el camino por do el auie a pasar
(751b49)

mando estonge fyncar dos maderos muy gruesos et muy altos
en medio del rio, alli por o las sus naues de los moros
auien a pasar (756a23)

Doubtful cases:

aquel dia que el mando, fueron prestos los que auien a yr
por las cauas, y el guisosse con su caualleria por tierra
(21b8)

los godos, asmando que al so dios que era adelantado de
las batallas que con sangre de catiuos le auien a amansar,
siemprel fazien sacrificios de sangre de omnes que pren-
dien en las lides (218a18-19)

quando aquello uieron et que la fazienda daquela guisa se
auie a librar, tornaron las espaldas (496b33)

dize la estoria que quando en Castiella sopieron de com-
mo vinieran Aluar Fannez et Martin Antolinez, et como se
auien luego a tornar a Valencia et leuar a donna Ximena
et a sus fijas, et como el rey soltara a quantos con
ellos quisiessen yr, vinieron a Sant Pero de Cardenna
(595a7)

llego el rey don Alfonso o avien a ser las vistas
(600b12)

capitulo de . . . como castigo a los caualleros, que
auien a lidiar, como fiziessen (623b27)

llamo a Pero Bermudez et a Martin Antollinez de Burgos
et a Munno Gustioz, los quales auyen a lidiar con los
infantes de Carrion, et ensennoles et castigoles como
fiziessen (624b34)

¿quien podrie dezir quam grant fue el duelo et el pesar
que el conde Gonçalo Gonçales auie por sus fijos que
auien a lidiar? (625a49-b1)

mandoles que les demostrassen los moiones que auien de
guardar, porque sopiessen por do auien a seer uengudos
o por do auien de uençer (626a26)

ell ouo su acuerdo con ell primas de Toledo et con los
otros arçobispos et obispos et abbades que y eran, por
cuyas bendiciones auie a uenir el coronamiento (654a37-38)

los moros entregaron el alcaçar de Murçia al infante don
Alfonso, et apoderaronle en todo el sennorio, et que

leuase las rentas del sennorio todas, saluo cosas çier-
tas con que aiuen a rrecodir a Abenhudiel et a los otros
sennores (742a16)

auer de

Subordinate Clause

los sabios antiguos . . . touieron que menguarien en sos
fechos et en su lealtad si tan bien no lo quisiessen pora
los que aiuen de uenir¹ como pora si mismos o pora los
otros que eran en so tiempo (3a7)

porque no cayessen [los saberes] en oluido mostraron
manera por que los sopiessen los que aiuen de uenir²
empos ellos (3a14)

connoscieron las cosas que eran estonces, et buscando et
escodrinando . . . sopieron las que aiuen de uenir (3a18)

por que non cayessen [las artes de las sciencias et los
otros saberes] en oluido et los sopiessen los que aiuen
de uenir (3b1)

dixo que el [Hercules] farie remembrança por que, quando
uiniesse aquel, que sopiesse el lugar o aiue de seer³ la
cibdat (8b34)

e fizo ende un libro que traye consigo, por o adeuinaua
muchas cosas de las que aiuen de seer (12b50)

el dixo que si sopiessen lo que les aiue de uenir, que
no aiuen por que labrar (13a7)

mostrauan le cuemo aiue de fazer⁴ quando uiniesse a tiem-
po de regnar, e cuemo uengasse a so padre (16b44-45)

e los unos dellos dizien que si la destruyessen que no
aurien depues con qui auer guerra, e auella yen dauar por
fuerça entressi mismos, de guisa que se destruyrien unos
a otros (45a33)

e razonauan algunos dellos otrosi que bien auenturado
serie el qui pudiesse saber el lugar o aiue de yazer
mientre aquel destroymiento del mundo andaua en dubda
(77a48)

¹ Notice the relation between aiuen de uenir and eran.

² Cf. por que pudiesen saber otrosi los que depues dellos
uiniesse los fechos (3a39-41).

³ Hercules had consulted an estrellero on this point and
had been told: cibdat aurie alli muy grand, mas otro la poblarie
(8b27f).

⁴ One notes here that aiue de fazer and uengasse are par-
allel constructions. Apparently, aiue de fazer = ficiesse and
uengasse = aiue de uengar.

preguntaron le daquel templo si durarie por siempre o
quanto serie el su tiempo; et el ydolo respondiolo que
auie de durar¹ fasta que pariesse uirgen (107a40)

otros departen que en Espanna auie de nacer un princep
cristiano que serie sennor de tod el mundo, et ualdrie
mas por el tod el linage de los omnes (108b46)

et pidiol merced quel dixiesse si se podien ayuntar dios
et mugier terrenal; e el diol exiemplo de cuemo Jupiter
yogo con Almena, et de muchas otras que parieron dios,
et della otrossi que dios auie de nacer (113a15)

preguntol Domiciano, que pues el sabie por la arte de
las estrellas lo que auie de uenir, quel dixiesse que muer-
te morrie² (140b28)

Roma, en que auie de seer la cabeça de la cristiandat
(165a33)

faziel sant Fabiano papa estar entre los que se auien de
confessar (165a39)

pensando mucho en el fecho de la batalla que auie de auer,
adormeciosse (182a50)

mas ante que se les guisasse la passada, salieron a ellos,
a un lugar . . . por o auien de passar, dos hermanos
(208b39)

pues que uio que los no podrie uencer en ninguna manera,
ouo uerguenna de se partir de la cerca, et assaco que
auie de yr a otros fechos mas granados (211a54)

tamanno miedo ouo de lo que auie de uenir, que pleyteo de
dar a Athila . . . la cibdad (234b29-30)

los adeuinos cataron lo que auie de seer (234b47-48)

dixo que sus dias eran ya llegados a la fin e que sopiesen
por cierto que no auia de beuir mas de nueue dias
(244a9, variant)

caso a su hermana dona Clothilda con ell iffante Amalarigo,
que auie de seer rey de Espanna (249b5)

entendie todas las cosas passadas et las que auien de
uenir (255a34)

entendio por ellas [las estrellas et las planetas] que
auie de seer aquel ninno omne mucho esforçado et alçado
et poderoso (261b14)

¹ In the indirect question durarie and serie are used; in
the answer auie de durar. If auie de durar means 'was destined
to last,' durarie and serie have the same idea.

² See supra, note 1.

ell era Messias, el que los judios atendien que auie de uenir (265b34)

entraua el diablo en ell a las uezes et faziell dezir algunas cosas daquellas que aiuen de uenir (266a34-35)

apparescio en el cielo un signo . . . que demostraui el sennorio que los moros aiuen de auer (274b26)

dixo ell y ante todos el dia que auie de morir et las cosas que aiuen de uenir sobre Seuilla. Este sant Esidro fue muy noble de spirito pora dezir las cosas que aiuen de uenir (277a25-26 & 28-29)

metiol una yerua empoçonada en el uino que auie de beuer (300a37-38)

e desi por lo que auie de seer que con la uara de Dios, esto es la su sanna, auie el de ferir todos los pueblos de Espanna, ayudaua Dios en todos sus fechos (305b45)

ante desto fuera ya fablado que auie el de casar con ella, mas non casara aun (307b47-308a1)

ouieron miedo que les tenien los moros celadas en el camino et en los puertos por o aiuen de passar; et dexaronse daquello, et fueronse (333a14)

vn dia que aiuen de auer batalla los unos con los otros, puso Zimael su celada en un lugar ascondido (336b8)

ella lo auie ya uisto en las estrellas que assi auie de seer (341a44)

tomaronles los puertos et los logares por o aiuen de salir (347b6)

metio al conde Garçi Ferrandez, armado de un lorigon et un gran cuchielo en la mano, so el lecho en que amos aiuen de yazer (428b11)

touieronle los cristianos el puerto por o auie de passar (430a37)

diol estonces don Rodrigo la carta, que dixiemos quel fiziera el su moro, que don Gonçalo auie de leuar (435b18)

fuesse echar en celada cerca la carrera por o ell auie de uenir (448a8)

ell infante don Garcia, que auie de seer rey de Nauarra por que era mayor et segund la particion que el rey don Sancho fiziera entrellos (481b3)

porque quando el fuesse cierto de su finamiento se confessarie mas complidamientre et alimpiarie su alma de

¹
See above p. 70, note 1.

todos sus peccados, dixol allí sant Esidro qual día
auie de finar (493b18)

enuio adelante dezir a los de la villa como se yua pora
alla, et dezirles sus palabras de amor, et prometer que
les farie mucho de bien et mucha mercet, et que sopies-
sen como auie de albergar y açerca en una villa que
dizien Seps (549a14)

dixieronle . . . que si prenderle querie, quel touiessen
los puertos por o auie de salir (563b48)

enuiaron guardar aquellos lugares por o dixieron aquellos
omnes al conde por o aiuen de salir¹ el Çid et sus com-
pannas (563b52)

fizo fincar las tiendas en vn campo allí do ellos aiuen
de posar (608b22)

mando a Uenito Perez . . . quel enderesçasse sus palaçios
pora la corte que auie de començar otro día (615b30)

desi pusieron en el mayor lugar la siella real en que el
rey se auia de asentar² (615b34)

la noche ante del día que auie de seer la lid, tambien
los vnos commo los otros se uelaron en las eglesias
(625a37)

me aparesçio sant Pero . . . et dixome commo destos treyn-
ta días me auia de passar³ deste mundo (634b2-3)

dixo Abentumet a esse mançebo de muchas cosas et de
grandes, et prophetol muchas de las que aiuen de uenir
(658b30)

lo ganaua . . . pora su nieto don Fernando, que auie de
seer rey de todo (678a18)

penssando et cuedando en el fecho de tan grand cosa como
aquella batalla auie de seer (691a51)

el conde don Alvaro daquela razon non quiso oyr nada
. . . sinon con tanto que ell inffante don Fernando, que
auie de seer rey et regnar, fuesse dado a la su guarda
(713a9-10)

vio que era conplido el tienpo de la su uida et que era
llegada la ora en que auia de finar (772a17)

Doubtful cases:

¹ MSS F and O read: auia a sallir.

² auia de asentar is the reading of MS F. Menéndez Pidal
published the reading of MS E: souiesse. MS O has se asentase.

³ MS F reads: me yua a passar.

Zaman rey de Cordoua . . . auie deuissado lo que los
caualleros aiuen de auer de todas las ganancias et los
robos que fiziessen en tierra de cristianos et la parte
que auie de seer del rey (327a18 & 20)

ella estaua siempre ataleando quando uerie uenir a don
Morant que la auie de leuar (342b17)

et los que aiuen de lidiar enderençaron las riendas a los
cauallos (516b45)

mando el rey que se armassen los que aiuen de lidiar
(625a42)

mandoles que les demostrassen los moiones que aiuen de
guardar, porque sopiessen por do aiuen a seer uençudos
o por do aiuen de uençer (626a26-27)

FLECTIONAL AUXILIARY

Present Indicative

auer

No examples

auer a

Subordinate Clause

a aquellos que an a mantener los pueblos so el rey, que
maguer que sean mancebos, llaman los uieios (85a26-27)

no aiuen ya que comer ninguna cosa, et aiuen ensangostadas
las uenas et los logares por o an a yr las uiandas en los
cuerpos (134b10)

a las uezes anse a uencer los buenos por los malos, et
esta es cosa que acaesce muchas uezes (397a8-9)

Doubtful cases:

comiença la tierra en esse tiempo a abrirse et a mostrar
las cosas que tiene encerradas en si de que se a el mun-
do a aprouechar (95b15)

pareçrie mal de leuar moros nin moras en nuestro rastro,
et non nos conuiene agora, mas andar los mas afforrechos
que pudiermos, como omnes que andan en guerras et en lides
et an a guarir por sus manos et sus armas (526a3)

esta tierra es angosta et non podemos en ella fincar, et
nos por armas auemos a guarir (530a33)

auer de

Subordinate Clause

digo uerdad que si el de morar a en Toledo, que se non

fallara bien por esto que a fecho (340a52)

mando a los que an de tomar los derechos de la villa que
non tomen mas del díezmo (589a15)

et si, por los nuestros malos pecados, al nos a de contes-
cer, nunca dalli adelante nos auedes de uer biuos nín
muertos (624b48)

gierto seed que si el a de saber que uos tal cosa del
dixiestes, que uos non podredes partir del sin vuestro
danno (763a12)

Doubtful cases:

e menbrando me de cuemol ui yazer quandol mataron, siem-
pre se me renueua el so duelo, y e de llorar por el e
auer cada dia mayor tristicia (33b37)

bien sabedes uos que todos los que por armas an de guarir,
como nos, que si en un lugar quisieren siempre morar, que
non puede ser que non menoscaben y mucho (532b33)

Imperfect Indicative

auer

No examples

auer a

Subordinate Clause

yua con ella ell obispo de Tiro, que auie el templo de
Jupiter a guardar (34b17)

en aquel tiempo era costumbre entre los reyes que quando
alguna cosa dauan cuemo por iuyzio de ley, que aquello
auien a fazer e non se tirar dello por ninguna manera
(37b50-51)

como fuera la sed de muchos dias et trayen los cuerpos
secos, assi se detenien en el beuer, que non respirauan
por tal de fartarse, que auien a caer en tierra (76b40)

por tan grand nemiga tenien ellos aquella guerra et la
batalla que auien a fazer por que era con cobdicia et
con soberuia, que se touieron por omnes de buena uentura
(77b10-11)

cierta cosa es, que era tan sofridor de lazerio et tan
acucioso en sus fechos, que quando auie a andar camino, a
los mandaderos que enuiaua adelante a todos los passaua,
et el llegaua primero (93a40)

dio ell ydolo a soora un riso de escarnio tan grand et
tan esquiuo, que se desfizieron los engennos con que lo
auien a desfazer, et fuxieron todos los maestros (118a38-39)

las paredes todas eran cubiertas doro et de piedras

preciosas. Los logares en que auie a cenar, todos eran cubiertos de taulas de marfil (123b27-28)

por desonra del [Valeriano, emperador romano] et de tod ell imperio de Roma, cada que auie a caualgar el rey de Persia, fincaua el cercal cauallo las manos en tierra, et ponie el rey el pie sobre sus espaldas, et alçauase el (167b35)

este era el omne del mundo mas esfoçado de coraçon, et el mejor caullero de sus armas, et era omne que tenie muy bien su ley, et en palabra que prometiesse nunca auie a mentir; et este era el mas amigo de amigo que en el mundo auie; et quando auie a ser enemigo, era el mas mortal que en el mundo auie (629b15 & 17)

cada que llegauan a la posada, assy lo tomauan en su siella et lo ponien en aquel caualfuste que Gil Diaz fiziera; et quando auien a caualgar, ponienle en su cauallo (639a40-41)

fue sienpre villa de muy grant gerra et muy reçelada, et donde venie sienpre mucho danno a cristianos et quantos enpeesçamientos auien a seer (746b35)

Garçi Perez de Vargas, et otro caullero que auie a yr con ellos, detouieronse en el real (751b29)

Doubtful case .:

de los que auien a recabar sus cosas, el que sabie el que era mas robador et que leuaua mas algo de la tierra, a auel ponie en mayor logar (137a43)

entendien que Garçi Garciaç se enbargaua con la guarda del ninno por razon que auie a penssar et catar las costas dell ninno (669a23)

astragaron et taiaron vinnas et panes et huertas, et todas las otras cosas de que a beuir auien que tenien fuera de las puertas (749b48)

en esto los engannauan todauia, ca auien a llegar tanto a las barreras, que por fuerça les conuenie a recibir y danno por mucho que se guardasen (762b23-24)

auer de

Main Clause

Doubtful cases:

dirie a uno que combrie otro dia con el, et a otro esso mismo; et desi comie con amos en un dia, vna uez con ell uno, et otra con ell otro; et no auie a ninguno de costar menos el guisamento de quaraenta mil dineros (131b8-9)

Subordinate Clause

de la parte de Ponpeyo murio y Memio, so cunnado, marido

de su hermana que auie de ueer todos los derechos del imperio (56a41)

llamauan presides a los que aiuen de ueer las prouincias et las tierras, et eran otrossi tanto cuemo defenedores (87b3)

auino assi que Estilico el conde, que auie de deffender et de gouernar ell imperio de occidente so los emperadores, non se menbro de quanto bien le fiziera ell emperador Theodosio (205b5-6)

los godos dalli adelant por que ueyen al so rey et assi mismos muy bien aconsejados daquel Dicineo, lo que el les conseiaua et tenie por bien aquello iudgauan por cosa prouechosa et de salut et de sanctidad en las cosas que ellos aiuen de fazer (222a12)

entraua el diablo en ell a las uezes et faziel dezir algunas cosas daquellas que aiuen de uenir, e por esta manera le aiuen de creer todas las yentes de lo que les dizie (266a35)

este Vlid era omne de grand sentido et sabie muy bien guisar sus huestes quando las auie de sacar (305b44)

uino Carlos Martel cercar la cibdad de Auinnon que los moros tenien presa por conseio del duc Maruncio que auie de ueer essa prouincia (329a45)

era fiia del duc Eudo el que auie de ueer la prouincia de la Gallia Gothica (332a13)

mas aueno assi que un portero que auie de guardar las puertas de la villa, que ouo su fabla con ellos de guisa que les dexo una noche una puerta abierta (460b1-2)

con tod esto los moros muy grand miedo ouieron quando uieron a los castellanos et a los leoneses ayuntados so un sennorio et acordados en uno, et los auie de assenorear rey fuerte et sabio (483b21-22)

este Muça auie de veer todas sus cosas del Çid en tienpo del rey de Valençia (587a4)

et aun esto que lo demos a la edad porque era pequenno, assi es verdad, mas sin la edad quel fazie sin enoyo, auie de su natura de seer tan bueno, et segund las bondades del rey don Sancho su padre que son dichas, recudie el a la natura buena del su derecho (671a17-18)

et assi cresçio allí la fambre, que la hueste con premia de la mingua de la uianda ouieron a comer carne en los dias que non deuien nin lo aiuen de fazer¹ segund nuestra

¹ This is the reading of MSS E and I. In E it is written over an erasure. F reads: solian fazer. Menéndez Pidal publishes: solien fazer.

ley

(706b17)

teniendo por mas enpeesciente el contrallamiento del agua
que el del terreno, ca todo el su acorro por alli les
auia de venir (754a27)

otra uez acaesscio que los caualleros de la hueste, que
auien de guardar los herueros, que ouieron ya por qual
razon o en que tardaron que non huuiaron salir¹ tan aora
comme deuiaran (764b49)

Doubtful cases:

quando los joglares cantauan o remedauan en los teatros,
enfinniendosse que los castigaua et los ensannaua, fazie
muy de grado ante todos los gestos que ellos auien de
fazer (116a38-39)

tan medroso era et tan poca feuz a uie en los omnes, que
en el comienço de su imperio no osaua yr al palacio o
auie de comer si no con omnes armados . . . quel guardassen
en quanto comie (119a42)

por ende, en el logar o sopo que auie de yazer, fizo
asserrar las uigas de manera quel cayessen de suso et
la matassen (124b47)

otrosi sabet que a la ora que Nero auie de yr en hueste,
la primera cosa de que auie cuydado era de guisar sus
carretas en que leuasse sus organos et sus estrumentos
et las cosas que auie mester pora su iogleria (126a46)

desque llegaron al logar o auien de ir, dixol la guarda
"tiende la ceruiz" (146b16)

fizo enfinta que auie de enuiar a Cordoua su mandado a
Tarif sobre una razon, et enuio alla a don Pelayo
(319b1)

los de las naues non dexaron por esso de estar y atendien-
do otras naues que les auien de uenir con mas yentes et
mayor ayuda, et llegaronles (362a18)

Nunno Rasuera fue omne que sopo traer en sus juyzios et
en las otras cosas que auie de fazer seso et cordura
(388a21-22)

los de Cordoua estonces non auiedo rey ninguno, escriuien
todo lo que auien de fazer so el nombre de Ysem el que
agora dixiemos, tambien en la moneda como en los pannos et
en los epitafios que fazien (466b26)

luego que el padre murio partieron ellos quanto les
el dexo, et mostraronse por muy cobdiciosos en las cosas
que auien de partir, de guisa que todo lo partieron
fasta la menor cosa (548b22)

¹ huuiaron salir = salieron.

Preterit

auer

Main Clause

pues que los moros vieron que ninguna otra cosa non podien pasar de quanto ellos asmauan nin querien, saluo a lo que el rey don Fernando querie, pesandoles mucho, ouieronse acioer¹ a fazer voluntad del rey (767a6)

Subordinate Clause

si tu as en ti seso et amar ouiste² algun cauallero alguna sazon, mucho mas deues amar a este (412b35, variant)

los cristianos los començaron a yr alcançando et matando et derribando en ellos, de guisa que, ante que se les enbarrasen, ouieron dellos apartar vna partida en que morieron y por cuenta çinquanta caualleros (755b16)

auer a

Main Clause

ouieron los entendudos . . . a buscar carreras por o llegassen a el yl aprendiessen (3a25-29)

a cabo de tiempo tremio aquella uilla tan fieramientre, que los que y morauan cuydaron seer muertos, e por end ouieron la a dexar, e fueron buscar o poblassen (31a42)

guerreclos tan fierament que no lo pudieron soffrir; e con coyta del, ouieron se los mas dellos a meter se en nauios por la mar (31b5-6)

cuemo quier que bien andantes fuessen en las demas cosas, en cabo ouieron a seer mal andantes quando guerrear con los romanos (44b12-13)

lo uno por los grandes dannos que auien ya fechos, lo al por que se querien tornar a ellos muchas tierras et alçar se con ellos contra los romanos por las premias et los males que les fazien, ouieron lo a saber en Roma (58a46)

cuemo se le yuan parando mal las sus yentes, ouosse a leuantar dalli, et fues (59a32)

pues que uieron que de tod en todo perderien sus companas, et non podien al fazer ni les ternie pro en seer brauos, ouieron se a uencer, et dexaron se de trabaiair de armas (76a19)

¹This is the reading of MSS E and S; I, D, and M read: ouieronse de acioer. Does not ouieronse acioer a fazer = fizie-ron?

²This is the reading of MS T; all the others have ameste.

quexo el senado de Roma mucho a Traiano ell emperador que
diesse a los gentiles poder de fazer mal a los cristianos;
et ell ouo gelo a otorgar a grand pesar dessi (144b18)

al cabo, por que se no espantassen los otros cristianos
por que murie tan tarde, ouo a pedir mercet a Nuestro
Sennor quel dexasse yr a Tondon, et ganolo del muy adur
(181b27)

et por fuerça desto ouieron lo a creer e a tornar cristiano
aquel anno (194b14-15)

sus fijos, pero que estauan muy tristes por la muerte de
su padre, ouieron a fazer semeiança de alegria por ruego
de sus uassallos que les rogaron que se mostrassen por
alegres (236b12)

essa yente de los berberis non pudiendo alli sofrir la
fambre, ouieron se a yr pora Seuilla (460a7)

los moradores de la çibdad, non lo pudiendo ya sofrir,
ouieronse ende a querellar (464a51-52)

el rey et sus moros ueyendo que conseio ninguno non po-
dien auer por que al rey don Sancho se pudiesen deffen-
der, ouieron a fazer et complir¹ todo quanto que el dixo
et demandaua (496a34-35)

el rey don Ramiro non quiso fazer como el rey don Sancho
querie, et desabinieronse et ouieron a lidiar sobrello
(496b22)

sonando la su muy grand fama deste rey don Alffonso,
ouolo a oyr et saber aquella donzella (553a27)

estando departiendo aquel omne con Ordonno, ouol Ordonno
a contar el fecho de las duennas commo acaesçiera
(611a4)

commo las mugeres por natura se quexan con la muerte mas
que los varones, ouieron gelo a entender (637b35)

ouo a pesar de si a contender con su tio . . . tanto que
ouieron a lidiar et lidieron (678b19)

la torre non se pudo defender et ouola a ganar (682a38,
variant)

los moros temiendose que como los de dentro estauan
fuertes, et muchos de los suyos en tod esto muertos ya
a saetas et a espada et a pedradas, ouieron a tornar
atras et fueronse dalli (707b7)

al cabo, estas razones ouieron a uenir por corte(710b7)

los moros, deque los vieron asi apoderados de aquel a-

¹

MS F reads: ouieron de fazer et a complir.

maualde del Axarquia, ouieron a desanparar las casas et a foyr con quanto tienien para dentro a la uilla (730b24)

pero con grand verguença ouo a dezir que nol conoscie nin sabie quien fuera (752b30-31)

los moros salien como solien, et pasaron la çelada; pero ante que la mucho uiasen pasar,¹ ouieronla a descobrir (753b25-26)

mas los moros ouieron a uentar la caua que les fazien (762a38)

asy se ouieron a dexar de les fazer otra caua, pues vieron que les non prestaua (762a42)

como quier que fue, o de los que y estauan o de otros, ouolo a saber Garçi Perez (763a21)

Doubtful cases:

esto fue porque se descubrio entonce asoora un grand fecho a Herodes, et ouosse a yr de Judea a Cesarea la de Palestina, et fuesse allegando a Tiro et a Sidon por fazer mal a los daquellas dos cibdades (120b8-9)

dexe yo muchas uezes las armas por les no fazer mal, et oue las luego a tomar con duelo dellos por los liurar de mucho mal que se fazien los unos a los otros (136a9)

pues que ellos fueron desterrados, ouieron se a esparzer por las otras tierras de los cristianos (246b27-28)

el conde no pudo yr de bestia por la montanna tras el puerco, et ouo a descender del cauallo et yr de pie (393b10)

fizoles la uerguença perder el miedo, et ouieron por fuerça a romper las azes de los naxarros (397b18-19)

todos los omnes que grandes fechos fizieron passaron por muchos trabajos, et non comieron quando quisieron nin cena nin yantar, et ouieron a oluidar los uicios deste mundo et de la carne (398b18)

porque el conde non podia andar por los fierros que eran muy pesados, ouole la infant a leuar a cuestas una grand pieça (413b30)

ouo el rey por fuerça a caer del cauallo a tierra (416a35)

Subordinate Clause

¹Note the use of uiar as a flectional auxiliary: uiasen pasar is a pluperfect subjunctive, equivalent to ouessen pasado, and uiasen simply shows the mood, tense, person, and number of pasar.

començaron les a fazer tantas terrerías por que ouieron a
auer guerras en uno (15b39)

fue ferido en el oio, de guisa que depues por la lazeria
que leuo en el mont Apennino del grand frio e del mucho
uelar quel ouo a perder (17b47)

quando la hueste de los Romanos, dond eran cabdeillos
aquellos dos Cipiones que dixiemos, ouieron a passar¹ por
las tierras del sennorio de Francia, que eran muy fuertes
yentes, assi ques atrouieron a lidiar con Annibal et con
todo so poder, e demas auien grand guerra estonce con los
romanos, et fazien les grand danno de manera que ant ellos
no osauan enuiar so poder a Espanna; pero con tod esso no
dexaron estos Scipiones de passar por el sennorio de los
franceses (19a22)

aquellos mataron los elefantes, por que toda su hueste
ouo a foyr (23b25)

acaecieron guerras a Roma por que ouieron a emuiar por
el (27a37)

ouieron los (sic) grand emuidia sos uezinos, e sobre
todos los de Persia, de guisa que ouieron a uenir a
guerrear² unos con otros (31b20)

cuytolos tanto fasta que los ouo a prender (32b55-56)

Eneas . . . la desamparo, por que se ouo ella a matar
(41a53-54)

por quet ouo a echar la tempestad de la mar al mio
puerto (41b11-12)

en fuerte punto uí yo aquel dia que te yo sali recebir,
e nos tomo grand lluuia en la carrera, e ouimos nos a
meter so una penna, o me tu mouiste primeramiente pley-
to que casaries conmigo (41b26-27)

e la discordia e la mal querencia començada dantes en-
trellos et encubierta fasta alli, daqui se començo a
descobrir, porque ouieron despues a lidiar et a contecer³
entrellos cuemo contaremos adelant (57b27)

la contienda que Julio Cesar auie con Ponpeyo, con todos
la ouo dalli adelant, porque depues ouieron a lidiar ell

¹ The writer does not finish the line of thought he began.
Our reason for interpreting ouieron a passar = passaron is the
last clause of the citation.

² Apparently ouieron a uenir a guerrear = guerrearon (see
above, p. 72, note 1, and p. 85, note 1).

³ Note the loose structure: Cesar et Ponpeyo are the sub-
ject of ouieron a lidiar; the subject of ouieron a contecer is
cuemo contaremos adelant. If cuemo = lo que, ouieron should be
ouo; but cuemo = las cosas que is probably a better interpretation.

e Ponpeyo en los campos de Emacia (66a3)

de guisa apremio a los de la cibdat por lo que auien fecho
contra el, que se ouieron a pleytear que los dexasse yr
con los cuerpos solos (78a9-10)

de guisa fue el pueblo agraulado de las cosas que les fa-
zien los consules et el senado, que ouieron ende a toller
los consules cuemo fizieran a los reyes (86a11)

auino assi un dia que ouo Julio Cesar a yr al Capitolio
a corte a ordenar su fazienda con el Senado de Roma
(96b12)

tanto andaua perdudo et coyado por ende, que ouo assacar
un fecho much estranno (112b34)

a Silano, so suegro, fizo tanto que se ouo a degollar con
una nauaia et a matar (116b50-51)

los cabdiellos et los caualleros quexaron le tanto, que
lo ouo mal su grado a otorgar (132a9)

por la grand crueldat della ouo el Nuestro Sennor Ihesu
Cristo a tomar grand uengança dell imperio de Roma
(167a42-43)

descubrio lo la fedor, de guisa que ouieron a catar aquel-
los que lo trayen, et fallaron lo muerto et podrido
(174a11)

el dia que ouo a auer batalla con ell, fue con tres
caualleros all atalaya de Narseo, et prisola (177b2)

crecio la demanda et la contienda entrel obispo et Arrio
et entre los que tenien con ellos, tan fuerte que lo ouo
a saber el muy santo emperador Costantino (190b48)

passando la huest, tan grand fue la yent que, dell uso
et de la pesadura de los omnes et de las bestias, ouo
la puent a falleger en medio, et caer (217a8-9)

et feriron le el cauallo de guisa que ouo a caer, et cayo
el con el (220b28)

fue uençudo Gunderigo et los vuandalos . . . de manera que
ouieron a dexar Espanna et a passar a Affrica (233b28)

auino assi que Alarigo . . . ouo a crebantar las posturas
(247a36)

quando se ouieron a yr dend, dexaron y unos pocos de
alaraues en la tierra (316a8)

Aluar Sanchez començo luego de dezir sus palabras tan
grandes, por que ouo a responder Gonçalo Gonçalez
(432a26)

ellos faziendo mui grand mortandad en los mcros, auenoles

assi que ouieron los moros a¹ matar en la grand priessa a
Fernand Gonçalez, que era ell uno de los inffantes
(439b2)

esto non pudo ser tan en poridad que lo non ouo luego a
saber Yssem (459b33)

tantol sopo aduicear et falagar, quel ouo a prometer que
yrie sobrellos (492b15)

desabinieronse ell et su cunnado don Vermudo rey de Leon
sobre tuerto quel fiziera esse rey don Vermudo, tanto que
ouieron a lidiar por ello (494b36)

con plazer del rey don Sancho, ouo el rey don Alfonso a
entrar monje (503a43)

assi que del grand roydo de la uenida dell, cayo tal es-
panto en el rey de Valencia que se ouo a mouer dalli, et
fuxo (551b3)

el Çid priso vn rico omne de los moros . . . et dieronle
grandes penas, fasta que ouo a pleytar por X mill maraue-
dis, et diol mas las sus casas que auie en Valencia
(569b14-15)

quando ouieron a mouer de Molina, el rey Abencanon, que
era sennor de Molina, nunca se quiso partir² dellas, fa-
ziendoles mucha onrra, fasta que fueron en Valencia en
casa de su padre; la qual cosa le gradesçio mucho el
Çid (614b14-15)

el dia que el Çid ouo a entrar en Toledo, sallio el rey
a recebirle bien a dos leguas de la villa, et fizol mucha
onrra (615a37)

quando ouieron a fazer las bodas, esposolos el obispo
don Gerónimo (631a27)

tomol algunas de sus çipdades et de sus castiellos et
de sus villas, de guisa que este rey don Alfonsso se
ouo a querellar dello, maguer que era ninno pequenno
(668b2)

despues al cabo, metiendose ellos a prouar el periglo de
la atreuenzia que fazien en lidiar con su rey, minguaron
en el poder et en ell esfuerço de los coraçones como es
dicho, tanto que despues ouieron a rogar a los mayores
et a su prinçeç rey don Fernando que los perdonasse
(673b5-6)

en llegando alli, enffermo de la fiebre aguda; et fue tan
affincada aquella fiebre, et tanto se le affinco et tan a

¹ MSS I, B, Y, T, and Z have de in place of a.

² Note the use of quiso. Abencanon did not want to leave
the Çid's daughters and did not leave them. Consequently quiso
partir = partiô.

ora fue, que alli ouo a ffincar et finar della (707b47)

tanto traou aquel cauallero Garci Lorenzo, et otros mas que se metien ya y, con la reyna donna Berenguella sobreste fecho, que la ouieron a mouer, et trexieronla que lo fiziesse (709b32)

fallesçieron a la reyna las rendas pora las soldadas de las cauallerias et de los otros omnes de armas; et la reyna, quequier que ella ouiera, dieralo ya todo lo mas, muy largament dando a todos, por que al cabo ouo a meter mano a sus donas muy preciadas (715a45)

enfermo y de grioue enfermedat, tanto que ouo ende a morir (719b31)

esta fue la razon porque esse rey don Fernando desa uez . . . ouo a yr por sy tan rebatadamente a la frontera como fue; et esto conuino a sser¹ por la muerte de don Aluar Perez, reçelando el danno que por auentura podrie venir (740a5)

acaesçio que se ouo a desauenir Diego Lopez . . . con el rey (741a13)

asy ouo de acaesçer entre tanto que el ouo a salir ende, et fue contra Olmedo (741a48)

un dia acaesçio que el rey don Fernando ouo a pasar Guadalqueuir (755a42)

Doubtful cases:

moraron alli un grand tiempo fasta que uino la grand seca que duro XXVI annos que no lloio en Espanna, por que ouieron a foyr todas las yentes de la tierra, e murieron aquellos dos hermanos (14a3)

desta guerra fueron tan coyados los dAffrica, que ouieron a poner tregua con los romanos por XX annos (44b28)

ca este touiera en tan grand coyta a los de Carthago, que matara acerca duna cibdat . . . dos mil de los meiores que y auie, por que ouieron a fazer esta pleytesia (44b37)

como quier que algunos dellos dizien sobresto muchas buenas razones, encabo no ualio todo nada, ca la uoluntad de todos ouo a passar, e por esso fue destroyda Carthago la postrẽmera vez (51b29)

tanto era el sendero aspero de andar et lleno de çarcas, que se ouo a despoiar aquella uestidura que uestie et a echarla tenduda sobre los çarçales por que estaua descalço, et a andar sobrella de pies et de manos (128a38-41)

¹ Does not conuino a sser = fue? The scribe of MS D, apparently seeing no meaning in it, wrote conuiene a saber.

de guisa que con quexo de los enemigos ouieron a passar
el rio Danubio, ca non podien ya soffrir la fuerça de la
yent (228a19)

porque los berberis auien toda la tierra despoblada por
sus malos fechos et sus correduras que fizieran y, por que
se ouieron a hermar de la tierra los lauradores de cuyos
lauores uinie ell abondo del pan, eran . . . en grant
cueyta (459b49-460a1)

quando esto vio el judio, ouo atan grant miedo que cayo
atras de espaldas, et comengo a dar muy grandes bozes, que
quantos estauan fuera de la eglesia lo oyeron, et el
abbat mismo ouo a dexar la predication, et entro en la
eglesia (642b35)

ellos, ueyendo de como ell emperador los amonestaua et
los esforçaua, fueron ellos esforçando, et los moros
desmayando et dexandosse de la lid, fasta que ouieron a
foyr et dexar el campo (660b48-49)

la cosa del mundo que mas quebranto a los moros, por que
el Andalozia ouieron a perder et la ganaron los cristianos
dellos, fue esta caualgada de Xerez (729a11)

todo de la mar aca lo gano, dello por combatimiento, et
dello por pleytesias quel traxieron, que se lo ouieron¹
a dar (770a41)

auer de

Main Clause

pero entendiendo quel conseiauan bien, ouolo de fazer
(25a49)

fue un dia la lit entrellos muy fuerte, de guisa que en
cabo los romanos no lo pudieron soffrir; e ouieron se de
uencer. Mas Scipion . . . fizo les tornar, e firieron en
los de Camora, e mataron a todos los mejores omnes e a
los que mas ualien darmas (30b2)

e a la postremeria, los de Carthago . . . ouieron se de
uencer e de encerrar en la cibdat, cuydando otrosi que los
de Roma querien traer alguna pleytesia con ellos como
las otras uezes fizieran (49b9-10)

et los principes romanos ouieron siempre esto de seer
los unos muy cobdiciosos de auer el sennorio mas que
otra cosa, los otros cobdiclar ell auer, otros y auie
que lo querien todo (57b8 & 10)

este Prisco ueyendo se en arrequexamiento, ouosse de
auenir con ell, et fizieron sus posturas de pazes
(223b21)

cuenta la estoria que quando a este rey Bamba quisieron

¹MSS E, I, and K read: auien.

alçar rey, que lo non quiso el consentir de seerlo; mas
pero al cabo ouo de otorgar lo con miedo et menazas quel
fizieron (284a6)

mas por que era omne piadoso, tomol duelo dellos et ouo
lo de fazer (291a22)

e por el grand poder que tenie, ouol de uencer alli o se
ayuntaron (306b44)

Muça querie mal a Tarif encubiertamiente . . . e con la
grand sanna que auie del non se lo pudo encrobir, et ouol
de traer mal luego alli de su palabra (318a48)

mas mala uentura que ouiera de la otra uez non se partira
aun aqui del, et ouosse de uencer, et fuxo (332b25)

faziendo Abdelmelic rey de Cordoua mucho mal a las yentes
cristianas, ouo . . . Dios de oyr las sus oraciones et los
sus suspiros, et doliosse delos (334a15-16)

non quisieron sofrir a Ysca aquella nemiga tan grand, e
ouieron de auer por esto mui grand fazienda (335a23)

e el con la grand quexa, ouo de passar el Nilo, et aco-
giosse en un logar que era dicho en arauigo Azimo
(338b28)

auiendo ellos . . . su batalla mui fuerte con el, ouieron
de seer uengudos (349a44-45)

ellos matandolos desta guisa, vno querie entrar, et ouo
de oler el bafo de la sangre (352a38)

el en esto estando, ouo de enfermar, et murio (355b16)

mas los cristianos, por que eran muy pocos, ouieronse de
uencer,¹ ca los moros eran muchos mas que ellos (360a28)

lidiando assi unos con otros ouieronse de fallar aquel
Bueso et Bernaldo (371a28-29)

ouo ell de judgar toda Castiella bien fastal rio de
Fisuerga (388a23)

el conde, andando entre todas las azes muy brauo et mui
libre en sus armas et en sus fechos, matando muchos del-
los ademas, ouose de fallar con aquel rey moro (404b13)

aquessa ora don Ordonno el Malo ouose de yr pora moros
(409b5)

ell arçipreste, yendo empos los podencos, ouo de fallar

¹ If we read to the end of the chapter from which this
citation is taken, we learn that the Christians, because of their
numerical inferiority, withdrew to a hill before they showed bat-
tle and that eventually they won the engagement.

al conde et a la infant

(413b49)

ouieran presa la cibdad a pocos de dias que yoguiessem
sobrellá, segund cuenta don Lucas de Tuy, sinon las gran-
des aguas dell yuierno que huuiaron uenir¹; et ouose
Almançor por esta razon de tornar a Cordoua (445b46)

Yssem con miedo desto quel dizie, ouo de otorgarle aquello
que el querie (452a5)

con el grand miedo dellos non osaua ninguno traer uianda
a la cibdad nin salir del logar, et por esta razon ouo de
uenir en la cibdad de Cordoua tan grand carestia et tan
grand fambre (458b2)

et Mahomat, pero que lo fizo amidos, ouo todauia de complir
su uoluntat dellos, temiendo que por uentura uiniesse al-
gun periglo a la cibdad por mingua de complimiento de
guardas (464b41)

assi acaescio que un dia ell andando desarmado por la
grand calentura que fazie, catando el muro del castiello
por o era mas flaco et por o se podrie mas ayna prender,
ouo assi de ser que alli andando quel tiraron una saeta
de que fue mal ferido (466b52)

el rey quando uio que con tal recabdo ge lo dizie, ouole
de creer, et priso a la reyna et mandola guardar en el
castiello de Nagera (475a18-19)

entre tanto ouo de acaescer que enfermo esse rey don
Garcia de Nauarra (484a28)

la infante donna Vrraca ouo de estar por aquel juyzio que
Arias Gonçalo le dizie (512a1-2)

Per Arias estonces con el grand dolor de la ferida et
por la sangre quel corrie por los oios, ouo de abraçar²
la ceruiz del cauallo (517a16)

quando esto oyo el Çid, lo uno por esto, et lo al por
quel enbiara dezir el rey de Çaragoça que se fuesse veer
con el, ouose de yr pora alla (565b13)

el rey don Loys, diziendol aquellos omnes malos et uiles
esta razon muchas uezes, pesol, et ouo de tornar y ca-
besça et pensso en prouarlo et como lo podrie fazer
(656a35)

seyendo el rey don Fernando en el regno de Leon, andando
por y faziendo iusticia et bien parando el regno, ouo de
venir a la uilla de Benaute (729b16)

asy ouo de acaescer entre tanto que el ouo a salir ende,
et fue contra Olmedo (741a48)

¹huuiaron uenir = uinieron.

²MSS F and Q read: abraçose a.

ouo de acaesçer que adoleçio muy mal (741b28)

el arçobispo ouolo de fazer, et fuese ende, pensandol
mucho (765b2)

Doubtful cases:

tomando el çid conseio sobre esto con el rey de Çaragoça,
ouo de tardar alla muy grant tiempo (565b25)

desto et de lo que eran muy combatudos, al cabo ouieronse
de dar (687a12)

Subordinate Clause

e tanto la rogaron yl pidieron mercet, porque ouo de
fincar (37a32)

e fue assi que ouo de ser rey depues de Agelmundo
(242b36)

Trasamundo . . . yaziendo muy mal doliente de que ouo de
morir¹, coniuero a Ilderigo (250a37, MS O)

quando uino el tiempo que Emina ouo de encaesçer² de aquel
su fijo (261b10, MSS B & U)

el dia que ouo de finar fizo su penitencia buena, et
murio en Toledo (265a35-36)

auinol assi una uez que ouo de entrar en la prouincia que
dizien Corrozante (265b20-21)

et los ouo acomendados a Dios quel dio Dios una emferme-
dad onde ouo de morir (277a18-19)

cuenta la estoria . . . quel dio una emfermedad onde ouo
de morir (283b11)

sabes como tu et tu hermano Vitiza assannastes a Dios
. . . porque ouo de uenir el destroymiento en la yente de
los godos (323a16-17)

et quando ouo de regnar plogoles mucho con el (330b25)

mas dio el moro a don Gustio Gonçalez un tan grand golpe
de la espada por somo del capiello, quel taio el capiello
et el almofar et la cofia, de guisa quel ouo de llegar
el golpe fasta los oios (404a14)

et assi aueno a pocos de dias que don Gonçalo yaziendo en
aquella prision, et aquella mora siruiendol, que ouieron
de entender en si et amarse ell uno al otro, de manera

¹The text published by Menéndez Pidal reads: muri; MSS C,
U, and L read: murio; MS B reads: morio.

²MSS E and C read: quando uino el tiempo de Emina fazer
su fijo, which is the reading adopted by Menéndez Pidal.

que don Gonçalo ouo de fazer un fijo en ella (435b40-42)

et cuentan que quando ouo de receber la orden dell apostoligado, que oyeron uozes de angeles que cantauan(489b11)

fizoles tanto de mal fasta quel ouieron de pechar et darle parias (532a11)

començo a dar muy grandes bozes a la puerta del rey fasta que el rey lo ouo de saber en commo se quexaua aquel mandadero (583a26)

aqui trauaron con ell el emperador et sus fijos que fuesse con ellos a Toledo, et tantol rogaron porque lo ouo de fazer (657b13)

tantol sopo falagar de sus palabras et adulçearle, que gelo ouo de otorgar (683a34-35)

este rey . . . ouo de fazer pesar a Dios en siete [años] que moro en la juderia de Toledo [con una judia despendiendo y mal so [tienp]o (685b26, MSS E & I)

vino la ora en que el sancto rey de finir ouo, et fue conplido el termino de la su uida (772a6-7)

Doubtful cases:

los luengos caminos que ouo de fazer tan ayna los passaua que lo non pueden creer los omnes (93a33)

tan de rezio lidiaron alli los franceses, que se ouieron de uencer los de parte de Bramant. Mas luego dieron tornada, et lidiaron tan brauamiente, que se ouieron de uencer los franceses la su uez, et fueron mucho espantados (340b27 & 29-30)

Future Indicative

auer

No examples

auer a

Main Clause

Doubtful cases:

et por este pecado auran¹ a perder tan noble çibdat commo Valencia (577b1)

Subordinate Clause

semeiame que auras a buscar otro amor nuevo e otra fe que des a la que amares (40a29)

¹ MS F reads: auian; Q: han.

sepas que si non quisieres guarescer al conde de muerte,
que se aura por tu culpa a perder toda Castiella (412b18)

Doubtful cases:

por que auemos dicho muchas uezes esta palabra Cesar, et
la auremos aun a dezir muchas uezes en esta estoria daqui
adelant . . . queremos departir . . . dond fue tomada
(89b24)

auer de

No examples

Conditional

Past Future

auer

No examples

auer a

Main Clause

Doubtful cases:

e aun sin tod esto, quando Roma ouiesse paz, aquellos a
qui ellos dauan e pechauan, se aurien depues a tornar
pecheros (51b7)

Subordinate Clause

Doubtful cases:

busco carrera por o la pudiesse ueer; e semeiol que no
aule otra, fuera que mouiesse guerra con los de Carthago;
e sobraquello que aurien a uenir a abenencia de paz, e
que alli se mourie pleyto de so casamiento (37b8-9)

auer de

Subordinate Clause

entendieron que non podrien contender con el, que destroy-
dos non fuessen, por ques aurie de perder la tierra
(25a39-40)

bien cuedauan que luego aurie de seer astragada et con-
fondida la cibdad (288a18-19)

e desi por lo que aule de seer que con la uara de Dios,
esto es la su sanna, aurie el de ferir todos los pueblos
de Espanna (305b47)

este era omne anuiso et entendio bien a lo que aurie de
uenir (568b1)

Doubtful case:

et por que estos que ellos ordenauan de poner alli aurien
de andar en los fechos delant los otros omnes de las tier-
ras, llamaron les en latin presides et prefectos (87a48)

Potential

auer

No examples

auer a

Subordinate Clause

muchas uezes tiraua ante grand gente a alguna bestia, et
dizie: "¿queredes quel ponga estas dos saetas en la tiesta
a manera de cuernos?"; et fazie lo assi, et espetaua ell
una all un cabo et ell otra all otro, bien en aquellos
logares mismos o los cuernos aurien a seer (140a17)

auer de

No examples

Present Subjunctive

auer

No examples

auer a

No examples

auer de

Subordinate Clause

si Dios quisiere que en todo en todo te ayas de perder des-
ta uez, sera por los tus grandes pecados (576b3)

Imperfect Subjunctive, -se Form

auer

Subordinate Clause

tan rezia fue el espoloneada, que mataron de aquellas
moras bien ciento ante que se ouiessen¹ armar ni caual-

¹ Our text reads: vuiassen; MS P: vbiassen; MS F: ouiassen.
All of them, however, are simply flectional auxiliaries showing
that the following infinitive is in the imperfect subjunctive,
third person plural. The -se form of this tense derives from the
Latin pluperfect subjunctive, and here it has its original force:
ouiessen armar = ouiessen armado.

gar

(637b23, MS 0)

auer a

Subordinate Clause

algunos omnes cuerdos que auie y, buscaron carrera por que
no ouiessem a uenir a buelta (32a43)

mando a otros sos priuados en grand poridat, que al mudar
de los sacos dun nauio en otro, que de guisa los diessen
a los omnes del rey por que no los pudiessem tener, e
ouiessem a caer en la mar (34a32)

desta manera se libro Dido de la companna del rey so her-
mano, faziendo les creyent que ell arena era auer, e me-
tiendoles miedo por que se ouiessem a foyr e a partir de
so companna (34b12-13)

assi les era allegre et iogoso como si fuesse omne que
por ello ouiesse a ueuir (672b30)

Doubtful cases:

touieron que no lo podrien fazer dotra guisa tan bien
cuemo enuiar quil guerreesse a Affrica, assi que el con
coyta daquello se ouiesse a yr pora alla (24b28)

una uez, dando a sus procuradores manera sennalada en
que fiziessen sus cartas quando las ouiessem a enuiar
por las tierras en razon de sus cogechas, mando les
que començassen assi (140a53)

auer de

Subordinate Clause

desdel primer anno dell imperio de Tiberio Cesar fastal
quinzeno no fallamos que ouiesse el de fazer ningunos
fechos granados (112a47-48)

passaron los moros con todas sus compannas el rio que
dizen Garona, assi como si ellos ouiessem de morar en
Ffrancia (327b21)

ant que morisse puso en su logar uno que auie nombre Odra
que mantouiesse la tierra et la caualleria; mas los ala-
raues enuiaronlo dezir a Ysca amiramomellin, et que enui-
asse y alguno por qui ouiessem de catar (329a18)

deffendio que tod aquel clerigo que la sancta eglefia de
Cristo ouiesse de seruir et ministrar, que non casasse nin
touiesse mugier consigo (337b52-53)

este Alhacam partio cinco mill caualleros quel ouiessem
siempre de guardar¹ (347b20)

¹Compare: quando se ouieron de tornar los mandaderos pora
Carlos, dioles el moro muchos dones que troxiesen (350a16-19); en-

a este don Ordonno diera el rey don Alffonso, so padre,
Gallizia por tierra que la ouiesse el de uer et de guardar
(383a53)

el rey . . . enuio sus mandaderos a don Xemen obispo de
Astorga, a quien el comendara la elesia de Ouiedo que
la ouiesse de uer (450b52)

et dixol [el Çid a Abenlaf] que si querie auer su amor
con el, que se partiesse de todas sus rentas de la villa,
tanbien de las de dentro commo de las de fuera; et que
pusiesse el Çid su almoxerif que ouiesse de veer todas
las cosas suyas, et que morasse en la villa por recab-
darlas (581a6)

asi auien arraygado las gentes con cuerpos et con aueres
et con mugeres et con fijos, commo si por sienpre ouie-
sen y de durar (768b2)

Imperfect Subjunctive, -ra Form

auer

No examples

auer a

Main Clause

con todo eso, alcançolo el maestre bien acerca del cas-
tiello, et matol y nueue caualleros et a el derribo del
cauallo, et ouieralo a prender¹ saluo por el poder de la
gente quel acorrio de todas partes (754a1)

Subordinate Clause

llego a tanto el fecho del et de Ponpeyo, por que si el-
los se uoluiessen, que ouiera a seer² destroyda Roma
(62a24)

fuesse luego pora la infante donna Sancha, aquella de
quien el conde ouiera a³ ser marido et por quien el era
preso (412b5)

auer de

Main Clause

bio el rey con ellos vn su fijo que auie nombre Abderrahmen et
aun vna partida de los meiores quel aguardasen, ca aun non auie
edat mas de XIII annos (351b53-352a3).

¹ ouiera a prender = prisiera = ouiera preso (priso).

² ouiera a seer = fuera = ouiera sido, for it is in a con-
dition contrary-to-fact in the past.

³ MS T has de in place of a. Note the future force of
this imperfect subjunctive.

fue el uençudo et ouiera el y de prender¹ muert (304a29-30)

el conde et la infant, estando assi ascondudos en aquel monte, ouieranse de uer² una ora en grand periglo et en grand cueyta (413b43)

ouieranse y de matar³ todos sinon por el rey don Sancho que salio a ellos et departiolos (417b27-28)

Future Subjunctive

auer

No examples

auer a

Subordinate Clause

uos desafiamos por el Çid et por nos et por todos aquellos que la su carrera ouieren a tener (610a23-24)

auer de

No examples

IMMINENCE

auer

No examples

auer a

Main Clause

el capitulo de como Roy Blasquez menar a Munno Salido et se ouieran a matar⁴ y unos a otros (437a28, chapter heading)

Doubtful cases:

Aben Alahmar rey de Ariona . . . vino con grant poder et

¹ouiera de prender = prisiera = priso.

²ouieran de uer = uieran = uieron.

³"Sie hätten sich getötet," translates Gerhard Rohlfs, p. 144.

⁴A reading of the chapter shows that they were about to stop talking and take to fighting. But the clash was averted just in the nick of time: ". . . et desi pararon sus azes de la una parte et de la otra. Et ellos por ayuntarse unos a otros et ferirse, dixo Gonçalo Gonçale a Roy Blasquez su tio: ' . . . queremos uos pechar la calon. que y a, et son D sueldos, et daruoslos emos, et rogamusuo que non querades y al fazer.' Don Rodrigo . . . dixo quel pla: e mucho de lo que dizie et que lo tenie por bien." (437b44-438a14).

perco a la condesa en Martos et començola a combater muy de rezo. Et ouiera a entrar¹ la penna; et esto podiera el fazer de ligero, ssaluo ende el poder de Dios que salua et defende et acorre a sus creyentes (738a1)

Subordinate Clause

quando auien a lidiar, fazien los armar, et tomauan los enpossi en los caualllos (23b18-19)

auino una uegada que yendo a una mugier casada con qui yazie, no cuydando el marido que era ell emperador, diol tan grand ferida, que ouiera a morir della. E dalli adelante numqua oso a tal ora andar por la uilla sin grand companna de senadores que iuan armados aguardando lo de lexos (123a25)

quando auie a entrar en batalla, tremie todo al comienço; mas despues que en la fazienda entraua, dizen que muy esforçado et muy fuerte era (469a19)

quando ouo a morir, contol toda su fazienda en confession, et rrogol que por amor de Dios quel metiesse en el abito de Çistel en que prometiera de morir, et quel leuassen al monesterio de Poblete a ssoterrar (476a50, variant)

a cabo de los dos annos, acaescio vna muy grant desauentura por la qual se ouo el Çid a perder con ellos² (602b48)

bien se daua a entender que les adeuinauan los coraçones el mal que les auie a uenir et el qual les estaua apa-reiado et eran muy cerca dello (608a20)

Doubtful cases:

quando el Çid ouo a yr a las cortes a Toledo, acordo que dexasse en Valencia quinientos caualleros fijos dalgo (614b45)

ouo a pesar de si a contender con su tio . . . tanto que

1

This seems to be the only interpretation, if we keep the punctuation of Menéndez Pidal. But would it not be better to put a comma after penna in place of the semi-colon and then interpret ouiera a entrar = entrara = ouiera entrado, just like podiera, which is a pluperfect? This way, it seems to us, the interpretation of ouiera a entrar would be more in conformity with what follows our citation. Cf. matol y nueue caualleros et a el derribo del cauallo, et ouieralo a prender saluo por el poder de la gente quel acorrio de todas partes (754a1). See above, p. 100, note 1.

2

Here follows the incident of the escaped lion in the Cid's palace in Valencia.

ouieron a lidiar et lidiaron¹

(678b21)

el rey don Fernando, desque ouo derribados estos castiel-
los a Diego Lopez et se ouo a ssalir, dexo y por frontero
a don Alfonso, su fijo, en Medina (741a38-39)

auer de

Subordinate Clause

Eneas, mio marido: la razon quet yo enuio dezir es tal
cuemo el canto del cigno, que se tiende sobre la yerua
rociada e comiença de cantar un canto cuemo dolorido a
la sazón que a de morir (39b45)

e pues que yo e de morir la quien te acomendare o cuemo
te dexare a uida, cosa tan pequenna? (135a20)

adolesco Costancio en Bretanna de muy fuert enfermedat;
e desque uio que auie de morir, fizo emperador a su fijo
. . . Et desi salíol ell alma del cuerpo (180a36)

entonce sant Siluestre fizo ell officio que fazen a la
puerta de la yglesia al que an de batear² (184b29-30)

et desque uio que aurie de morir della, algo por emperado-
res a . . . sus fijos . . . E desi murio ell emperador(197a29)

quando se ouieron de tornar los mandaderos pora Carlos,
dicoles el moro muchos dones que troxiesen (350a17)

¹This is a mighty interesting example in that the writer felt the need of adding et lidiaron. From this we infer that without this addition there would have been something indefinite about the outcome of ouieron a lidiar. With the auxiliary in the preterit, auer a plus infinitive can express necessity, imminence, or stand for the preterit of the dependent infinitive. Since we interpret the first part of the citation, ouo . . . a contender, to be a preterit, we assume that ouieron a lidiar with the added et lidiaron must be something else. As an expression of necessity, ouieron a lidiar with the auxiliary in the preterit would mean 'they had to fight and did fight.' To state the outcome as indefinite in the past, the auxiliary is regularly put in the imperfect (see above p. 36, note 2). This is obviously not a preterit standing for the imperfect for it would be the only instance of it in the Primera Crónica General. With necessity and the flectional auxiliary ruled out, imminence is the only thing left. On the other hand, the weakness of this whole argument lies in the possibility that the man who wrote this section of the Crónica may be the same one that wrote: a Silano, so suegro, fizo tanto que se ouo a degollar con una nauaia et a matar (116b50). Surely, no one would maintain that the fatal consequences of the verb degollar were so little understood in the thirteenth century that it was necessary to add et a matar to make certain that the statement would be clear.

²For the Catholic ceremony of baptism, see The Catholic Encyclopedia, II, New York, [1907], p. 273a; and Enciclopedia universal ilustrada europeo-americano, VII, Barcelona, n. d., p. 1257a-b.

CHAPTER III

DISCUSSION

AUER

In any discussion of habere ad or habere de plus infinitive, we must recognize habere plus infinitive as the original construction. This, Thielmann found, is a popular idiom. The first known instance of it occurs in the works of Cicero, where it is used to express ability or possibility.¹ As an expression of necessity, habere plus infinitive comes up first in the works of Seneca the Elder. Seneca was born in Spain, and though he made two rather lengthy stays in Rome, he seems to have spent most of his time at his home in Cordova. Such being the case, there is a fair possibility that habere plus infinitive expressing necessity first developed in Spain. On the other hand, the work in which this use of habere plus infinitive occurs was written in his ripe old age, just a few years before his death, so that it is equally possible that he was using a construction he had learned in Rome.² At this stage, then, habere plus infinitive expressed either possibility or necessity. As we shall note below, Thielmann does not follow the history of habere plus infinitive as an ex-

¹Thielmann, pp. 49-51.

²Thielmann, pp. 65-66; O. Rossbach, in Pauly-Wissowa, Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft, neue Bearbeitung, I, Stuttgart, 1894, cols. 2237-2238; Martin Schanz, Geschichte der römischen Literatur, zweiter Teil, erste Hälfte, ed. 3, München, 1911, pp. 473-474; and Alexander W. Mair, in Encyclopaedia Britannica, ed. 14, London & New York, [1929], XX, p. 323, col. 1, s. v. Seneca, Annaeus.

pression of possibility beyond Tertullian, though it is found in this usage as long as Latin serves as a current medium of literary expression.¹

Regarding the position of habere with respect to the infinitive, we find that in Cicero, who used it only as an expression of possibility, it regularly precedes the infinitive, though the auxiliary and the infinitive did not need to stand in juxtaposition.² This was the regular position of the auxiliary in habere plus infinitive expressing possibility as late as Tertullian; practically all exceptions are due to metrical demands.³ No such rule can be formulated for the position of the auxiliary in habere plus infinitive expressing necessity until we come to Tertullian's use of it. Tertullian used habere plus infinitive both as an expression of possibility and as an expression of necessity. But, in his usage, when habere precedes the infinitive, it usually expresses possibility; when it follows, it usually expresses necessity. Further, the auxiliary and the infinitive stand, for the most part, in juxtaposition; when they are separated, Thielmann observes that the intervening forms are usually atonic particles. Tertullian's usage is adhered to with varying degrees of conformity by all later Latin writers. The importance of all this lies in the fact that the agglutinated future and conditional of the Romance languages demands juxtaposition of habere and the infinitive, with the auxiliary in postposition. Since Thielmann is studying the origin of the agglutinated Romance future, he is interested primarily in the construction with postposition of the auxiliary. As early as Tertullian, in the majority of cases in

¹Thielmann, pp. 61-62.

²Thielmann, p. 54.

³Thielmann, pp. 55 & 61.

which habere follows the infinitive, the force of the construction is that of necessity. From these considerations, it follows that the Romance future developed from habere plus infinitive expressing necessity. Consequently, Thielmann had no reason for investigating the later history of habere plus infinitive expressing possibility.¹

In conversational use, Latin, like all languages, shows the present serving for the future. However, when there is an occasion to distinguish between the present and the future, this practice does not measure up to the demands. Likewise, in literary usage, and in prose more so than in poetry, a means of distinguishing between the present and the future is absolutely essential. Consequently, finding a way to do this is one of the prerequisites of the later Romance literatures.² Meyer-Lübke surveys the Romance territory and finds that the formula cantare habeo gave the future in the most important literary languages in the territory, namely, in France, Spain, Portugal, and middle Italy, and that where no special language was developed for literary use, either the present continued to function as a future, or it is expressed in some other way. From this he concludes that the demands of the literary language paved the way for the development of the regular Romance future and conditional.³ Now in view of the fact that the printing press did not show up in Europe until the fifteenth century and that popular education is a rather recent development, the popular tongue came in contact with the literary tongue only in

¹Thielmann, pp. 60-62, & 80.

²Thielmann, pp. 163-164.

³Meyer-Lübke, Gram., II, §112, & III, §102; idem, "Die lateinische Sprache in den romanischen Ländern," Grundriss der romanischen Philologie, I, ed. 2, Strassburg, 1904-1906, p. 479; also Hanssen, Gram., p. 277, §575. For objections to Meyer-Lübke's opinion, see Leo Spitzer, "Ueber das Futurum cantare habeo," Aufsätze zur romanischen Syntax und Stilistik, Halle a. S., 1918, pp. 173-180.

the church and the law-courts. Literary influence on the popular speech was, therefore, negligible. Consequently, both Thielmann and Meyer-Lübke say, in effect, that the Romance future and conditional are literary developments.

In Old Spanish, we come across auer plus infinitive, without a preposition. Some minds have entertained grave doubts as to the authenticity of this construction. Attempts have been made to show that this is, after all, the prepositional construction, but that the preposition a has been absorbed by a contiguous vowel. Others contend that the absence of the preposition is due to haplology or haplography. The vocal embebida theory needs a contiguous vowel, one that is sonorous enough to absorb the atonic preposition a; haplology demands that so far as the preposition a is concerned the word immediately preceding end in -a or that the one immediately following begin with a-, whereas when the preposition de is concerned, the word immediately following it must begin with de-. While it is doubtless true that there are a number of cases in which one or the other of these two explanations accounts for the absence of the preposition, the cases in which neither one of them could possibly apply are too numerous to be ignored.¹ Cornu finds an instance of it as late as Juan Ruiz:

Ove conla grand coyta Rogar ala mj vieja (929a).

In the Ducamin edition of the Libro de buen amor there is another:

¹The merits of this construction have been thoroughly discussed. See particularly Cornu, pp. 225-227; Liljequist, pp. 14-15; Meyer-Lübke, Gram., II, §112; Baist, "Die spanische Sprache," Grundriss der romanischen Philologie, I, ed. 2, p. 915; Fitz-Gerald, The Versification of the "cuaderna via," pp. 49-52; Hanssen, Dos Problemas de sintaxis, pp. 3-24; Larsen, pp. 55 & 59; Henríquez Ureña, La Versificación irregular de la poesía castellana, pp. 7-35; Beardsley, pp. 23-27, & 183-188; Rohlf, Archivum Romanicum, VI (1922), 105-154; Tarr, MLN, XXXVIII (1923), 107; Pietsch, Spanish Grail Fragments, II, 64-65, & 67-68; and Gillet, MP, XXIV (1926-1927), 356-357.

"Salve rregina," dises, sy de ti se ha quexar (387d).¹

But more remarkable still is the fact that Kany finds it in the sainetes of Ramón de la Cruz. He comments that in cases like ha partir Ramón de la Cruz generally suppresses the preposition de, adding that he does so either to imitate popular usage or because it was his own way of speaking.²

Going back to Latin now, Thielmann had found that the Romance future and conditional had developed out of habere plus infinitive expressing necessity, that beginning with Tertullian when habere precedes the infinitive it usually expresses possibility, when it follows it usually expresses necessity. However, he observed, further, that when Tertullian quotes the spoken word, habere expressing necessity usually precedes the infinitive.³ Tertullian, whom Thielmann calls "den genialen Sprachbildner," does not hesitate to admit freely into his writings all manner of popularisms.⁴ He died about 230 A. D., more than two centuries before the downfall of the Roman Empire. At this time, the provinces were still in close contact with Rome and the popular language spoken throughout Romania was homogeneous.⁵ Thielmann makes no further observations about the spoken language, and so far as Spain is concerned, his study is weak, because at the time only a few of Spain's documents were available in published form.⁶ But habere plus infinitive with the auxiliary in pre-position is also found in the old texts of northern Italy as an expression for the

¹ The variant reading is: an de quexar.

² Kany, Rev. Hisp., LX (1924), 172 & 182.

³ Thielmann, pp. 80 & 89.

⁴ Thielmann, pp. 60-61.

⁵ Grandgent, Latin vulgar, p. 19, §2; and Muller and Taylor, A Chrestomathy of Vulgar Latin, pp. 111, & 3-9.

⁶ Thielmann, p. 201.

future and conditional.¹ In this connection Thielmann noted that Ambrosius, bishop of Milan, put habere expressing necessity before the infinitive far more often than the African writers did.² Mario Filzi finds it in use today in central and southern Italy. His explanation for it is that the original Vulgar Latin formula for expressing necessity was habeo cantare, with the auxiliary in pre-position, that this was implanted in the colonies in the wake of the earliest Roman conquests, whereas in the later colonies we find only the form with the auxiliary in postposition.³ Grandgent, accepting the results of Cornu's study, states that habere plus infinitive, with habere in pre-position, occurs in Old Spanish as a future tense.⁴ In view of the fact that he puts this statement in his manual on Vulgar Latin, it is to be assumed that in the Latin spoken in Spain habere in pre-position was at least current, if not as frequent as in postposition. Even in the written language, Thielmann found that postposition of the auxiliary had never succeeded in excluding pre-position. Hanssen makes a thorough investigation of the position of the auxiliary, and suggests that the form with the auxiliary in postposition may be of later origin than the one with the auxiliary in pre-position.⁵ The explanation that Mario Filzi gives for the presence of these forms

¹Thielmann, p. 167; Meyer-Lübke, Gram., II, §112.

²Thielmann, p. 184.

³Mario Filzi, Studi Romanzi, XI (1914), 6-7.

⁴Grandgent, Latin vulgar, p. 101, §129.

⁵Hanssen, Dos Problemas de sintaxis, pp. 23-24, §15.

Meyer-Lübke (Gram., II §112), on the other hand, says that habeo cantare is the later formation because the auxiliary and infinitive are in Romance word order, whereas cantare habeo has the Latin word order. This reasoning, however, does not take cognizance of the fact that it was not until the time of Tertullian that postposition of the auxiliary became the rule, that even then the Latin documents show the auxiliary in postposition only in the majority of cases, but never to the exclusion of habere in pre-position.

in central and southern Italy probably applies equally well for their presence in Spanish. Spain was one of the early Roman conquests. Roman soldiers won their first victory on Spanish soil in 218 B. C. The Carthaginian domination in Spain came to an end in 206 B. C.¹ Spain became, in 197 B. C., the third Roman province, being preceded only by Sicily in 241 B. C., and Corsica and Sardinia in 238 B. C.² It was not until the end of the second and the beginning of the third century of our era that Thielmann found a writer, Tertullian, who showed a marked tendency to put habere expressing necessity in postposition. That, apparently, applied only to the written language, for when he quotes the spoken word, habere expressing necessity regularly stands in pre-position. With all that is known about the Spanish language, our knowledge of popular Spanish is meager. We have no popular texts until we come to the end of the fifteenth century. A glance at our bibliography reveals the fact that the studies so far made of auer plus infinitive are based on Old Spanish texts, none of which are popular in the true sense of the word. Further, the construction habere plus infinitive is to this day current in Asturian and Portuguese.³ And, inasmuch as both Thielmann and Meyer-Lübke maintain what amounts to saying that the Romance future and conditional are literary developments, our evidence points to the fact that habere plus infinitive with the auxiliary in pre-position was certainly part and parcel of the Latin spoken on the Iberian Peninsula, that it might well be the original and genuinely popular

¹Altamira, Historia de España, I, ed. 3, Barcelona, 1913, pp. 92-93, §§35-36.

²Meyer-Lübke, in Grundriss de romanischen Philologie, I, ed. 2, Strassburg, 1904-1906, p. 451.

³Meyer-Lübke, Gram., II, §112; and Hanssen, Gram., p. 118, §260.

form, and that the literary form with the auxiliary in postposition has not, thus far, been able to suppress it.

Now in the large majority of cases of this construction, the auxiliary stands in the present or imperfect indicative. When such is the case, it is usually considered a future or conditional. From this it would follow, naturally, that the separable future must have contributed very materially toward maintaining auer plus infinitive. It is usually held that the agglutination of the infinitive and the auxiliary was completed in the fourteenth century,¹ but that as late as the first half of the seventeenth century it was possible to put an object pronoun between the infinitive and the auxiliary.² This, however, seems to represent only literary usage, for in the sixteenth century we find in La Vida de Lazarillo de Tormes the following:

si con él topase, muy gran su privado pienso que fuese, y que mil servicios le hiciese porque yo sabría mentille tan bien como otro, y agradalle a las mil maravillas; reille ya mucho sus donaires y costumbres, aunque no fuesen las mejores del mundo; nunca decirle cosa con que le pesase, aunque mucho le cumpliese; ser muy diligente en su persona en dicho y hecho; no me matar por hacer bien las cosas que él no había de ver, y ponerme a reñir donde él lo oyese con la gente de servicio, porque pareciese tener gran cuidado de lo que a él tocaba; si ríñese con algún su criado, dar unos puntillos agudos para le encender la ira, y que pareciesen en favor del culpado; decirle bien de lo que bien le estuviese; y por el contrario, ser malicioso mo-fador, malesinar a los de casa; y a los de fuera pesquisar, y procurar de saber vidas ajenas para contarselas.³

Here reille ya is a conditional, and the ya goes with all the underlined infinitives, thus making them conditionals as well. Further, Hanssen found the separable future in Fernán Caballero:

¹ Cornu, p. 225.

² Gessner, ZRPh, XVII (1893), 42.

³ Lazarillo de Tormes, tratado III, quoted from Ramón Menéndez Pidal, Antología de prosistas castellanos, [ed. 2], Madrid, 1917, p. 112. I am indebted to the kindness of Professor Keniston for calling my attention to this citation.

cantarte he este romance.¹

This is not a unique case, for we found another:

habérselas ha.²

In the Spanish spoken in Turkey, it is used to this day:

alegrar moz emos.³

All this, in turn, points to the fact that the separable future maintained itself longer in popular than in literary usage. And we believe that this consciousness on the part of the Spaniard as to the morphology of his future and conditional exerted considerable influence in maintaining haber plus infinitive, and vice versa that haber plus infinitive must have helped to maintain the separable future and conditional.

AUER A

Coming now to habere ad plus infinitive, Diez quotes:

per manus nostras recipimus vel ad recipere habemus,

an example taken from a Latin document written in France in the year 721 A. D.⁴ This example shows the way by which the Romance languages express the future of necessity once habere plus infinitive has become so weak that all of its modal force is gone.⁵

Now we are told that the original force of habere ad plus infinitive was that of purpose or goal, and that in Old Spanish we can find numerous instances where this can still be clearly felt.⁶

It is well known that early in the Middle Ages prepositional in-

¹Cuadros de costumbres (Leipzig, 1882), 232, quoted from Hanssen, Gram., p. 118, §260.

²Fernán Caballero, La Familia de Alvarada, ed. Hendrix & Hespelt, Boston, [1928], p. 63, line 11.

³Subak, ZRPh, XXX (1906), 182.

⁴Diez, pp. 923 & 936.

⁵Diez, p. 968; and Thielmann, p. 200.

⁶Diez, p. 491; Meyer-Lübke, Gram., III, §328; Hanssen, Gram., pp. 293-294, §690; and Beardsley, pp. 180-181.

finitives began to take the place of the gerund and gerundive, so that where you have ad plus a gerund in classical Latin, Vulgar Latin uses ad plus an infinitive.¹ This brings us right up to the Latin original of habere ad plus infinitive.

After "verbs of giving and taking, sending and leaving, letting, contracting, and undertaking," classical Latin used a gerundive in the accusative to express the purpose or "the object to be effected" by the transaction. Ad with the gerundive is rather rare. Habere is one of the verbs that appears quite regularly in this construction. To emphasize the idea of purpose, ad with the gerund in the accusative is used. Since habere is a transitive verb, ad and the gerund is particularly frequent with the substantive that is the object of habere and indicates its purpose or destination.² In the works of Seneca the Elder, there appears habere plus the gerund as an expression of necessity. This construction reached its highest development under Tacitus and Pliny the Younger. Thereafter, it begins to decline, and, while it never died out completely, after Suetonius it is found mostly in the writings of jurists.³ The reason for its disappearance, of course, lies in the increasing popularity of habere plus infinitive as an expression of necessity.⁴

While it is true that the infinitive began to take the place of the gerund early in the Middle Ages, Diez says that ha-

¹Nebrija, p. 102; Diez, pp. 922-923, 932, & 938; Hanssen, Gram., p. 254, §611, & p. 293, §690; and Muller and Taylor, A Chrestomathy of Vulgar Latin, Boston, [1932], p. 63.

²Thielmann, p. 67; Gildersleeve's Latin Grammar, ed. 3 by B. L. Gildersleeve and Gonzalez Lodge, Boston, 1907, pp. 281-282, §§430 & 432; and Raphael Kühner, Ausführliche Grammatik der lateinischen Sprache, II, ed. 2 by Carl Stegmann, Hannover, 1912, pp. 731-732, §130, 3 & Anmerk. 2.

³Thielmann, pp. 66-70.

⁴Diez, p. 489; and Thielmann, p. 70.

bere ad plus a gerund expressing purpose appears quite frequently by the side of habere ad plus infinitive. He finds a case of it as late as 823 A. D.: ad labcrandum abuit.¹ This is contemporaneous or perhaps a little later than the first document in a Romance language.² We can cite another one taken from a legal document written in Sigüenza in 1236:

fiziemos gracia a Garci Gilez en nombre del 7 de Pero Sanchez, cuius mandatum se dicebat habere ad componendum 7 a fazer toda cosa que procurador puede fazer³.

In a case like campum ad laborandum abuit, it is evident that ad laborandum expresses purpose, but obligation is certainly involved. But when you come to a case like mandatum se dicebat habere ad componendum, where mandatum is an abstract noun, one naturally construes it as the object of componendum. By so doing, the obligation inherent in the original construction is brought out in full vigor and not a trace of the idea of purpose is left.

In early Spanish there are numerous examples where the original idea of purpose is still quite evident. Some of these cases would, doubtless, be so construed if we did not know that the idiom most commonly expresses necessity. In the case of some verbs, it would be particularly easy to construe what we generally consider the object of the infinitive as the object of auer without doing the least bit of violence to the thought. And inasmuch as auer is still a transitive verb in Old Spanish it would be only the more easy and logical to do so. We found one example in which, to stress the force of purpose, the preposition por is actually used:

¹ Diez, p. 936.

² Rajna, Speculum, III (1928), p. 291.

³ Menéndez Pidal, Doc. ling., Núm. 255, l. 13. We observe here that the gerund and the infinitive stand in parallel constructions.

esta heredad sobrescripta que uos damos que fagades della .XIII. quinones ⁊ que lo ayades por heredad por uender ⁊ por enpennar a tales omes que fagan a nos esta façendera sobrescripta (Doc. ling., 167, 27-28)

Note the force of purpose in the following examples:

lo que ffinco en los cogedores o en los que lo ouieron a recabdar (Doc. ling., 141, 63)

esta villa ⁊ esta heredad sobredicha non la auedes a meter uos, donna Mencia, en otro manpostero que la tenga, mas uos la auedes a tener por uostro corpo o por uostros omnes, ⁊ non auedes acoger en Paredes a nengun omne del mundo con poder, que a mī mal quiera nīn que mal me pueda buscar, nīn auedes adesaforar los omnes de Paredes nīn fazer les tuerto nīn fuerça, nī auedes esta villa ⁊ esta heredad a uender nī adar nī a enpennar nī de otra guisa nenguna a enagenar (Doc. ling., 189, 7-13)

con .VIII. soldos de encienso que an adar estas casas deuanichas ancadanno a don Garcia dela Tabla (Doc. ling., 192, 16)

deffendieron las eglesias ⁊ les dieron muchas ffranquezas, por que aquellos que las auien aseruir mas ondrada mientre ⁊ mas sin embargo pudiessen fazer seruitio a Dios (Doc. ling., 284, 17)

omnes abitantes in ea [ipsa hereditate] auctis adprendere et prepetim obtinere ipsa corte quomodo obtinuit (Eslonza, 85)

la tierra que has a eredar¹ (Deu., XI:29)

las gens, que tu as a heredar² (Deu., XII:29)

ell obispo de Tiro, que auie el templo de Jupiter a guardar (Cron., 34bl7)

esto se usa aun agora entre los moros et los iudios, que a aquellos que an a mantener los pueblos so el rey, que maguer que sean mancebos, llaman los uieios (Cron., 85a26-27)

tan grand estudio ponie en guardar la uoz cuemo uos de su-so dixiemos, que por tal de la guardar, quando auie de llamar algun cauallero, otri lo llamaua por el, et lo quel auie a dezir, diziegelo muy quedo (Cron., 122b47)

todas quantas cosas auemos nos oy a dezir contra uos, todas seran de los uestros libros (Crón., 189b10)

In the negative the force of purpose is not so obvious:

no han y a cortar leña, ni verde ni seca, ni han y a facer

¹ The Latin reads: terram, ad quam pergis habitandam.

² The Latin reads: gentes, ad quas ingredieris possidendas.

fuego (Covarrubias, 107)

In this connection, one is reminded of the fact that it has been suggested that the force of necessity in the gerund developed originally in cases where the verb was negative.¹ Moreover, the cases in which it is impossible to see any force of purpose are extremely numerous. This is particularly true when the dependent infinitive and the direct object express ideas that are closely cognate, that is, when the object is such that the sense requires it to go with the infinitive rather than with auer. The same is true when the dependent infinitive is intransitive or passive.

por esto oujemos nos, el prior ⁊ el conuentu sobre dicho,
aquerellar a nuestro sennor el obispo (Doc. ling., 64,14-15)

falle que auien a auer en las salinas de Rusio dozientos
morabedis (Doc. ling., 190, 8)

por el quinto que auedes a auer en todo lo suyo (Doc. ling.,
215, 17)

por que no uengades despues a otras contiendas njn aure-
des a jurar njn caer en otras sentencias (Doc. ling., 228,38)

en esto ad a seer pagado Fernan Pedrez, como dicho es
(Doc. ling., 266, 38-39)

Habere de plus infinitive is the most recent of the three constructions under discussion. Rohlf's says that it is found as early as the eighth century in the Merovingian documents.² One is strongly inclined to question this statement for the simple reason that habere de plus infinitive does not appear in French.³ Our earliest literary documents in Spanish already use it quite frequently, though auer a plus infinitive is still shown preference. In the Poema de Mio Cid, auer plus preposition plus infinitive comes up exactly thirty times: nineteen times auer a is used;

¹ Stolz-Schmalz, p. 594, §176, Zusatz.

² Rohlf's, p. 115.

³ Rohlf's, p. 109.

eleven, auer de. Beardsley likewise finds that in the texts he studied auer a is in the majority.¹ The texts that formed the basis of his study are the Poema de Mio Cid, the works of Berceo, the Libro de Alixandre, and the Primera Crónica General.² But in the fourteenth century, auer de already has the field pretty much to itself. Auer plus a preposition plus infinitive comes up twenty-one times in the Spanish Grail Fragments; auer a once, auer de, twenty times.³ In the Libro de buen amor, we found it forty-seven times: ten times auer a plus infinitive; thirty-seven times auer de plus infinitive.⁴ In the fifteenth century, the Danza de la muerte still uses auer a by the side of auer de,⁵ while Santillana limits himself to auer de plus infinitive.⁶

Regarding the disappearance of auer a plus infinitive, Miss Seifert suggests that so many verbal inflections ended in a vowel that the preposition a was probably absorbed.⁷ This is, doubtless, the correct explanation, though it needs further elaboration. As a matter of fact, just as many of the forms of auer ended in a vowel in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries as at any later period. What happened is that another vowel, one that is more sonorous and, in quality, is identical with the preposition a, took the place of one that was less sonorous and not identical with the preposition a. The Primera Crónica General is the latest text included in our study. In it the imperfect in -ie of

¹Beardsley, p. 189.

²Beardsley, p. xiii.

³Spanish Grail Fragments, ed. Pietsch, I.

⁴Juan Ruiz, Libro de buen amor, ed. Ducamin.

⁵See above, p. 28.

⁶Diez, p. 935. Miss Seifert (RFE, XVII (1930), 362) cites some instances of auer a in the sixteenth century, but they are taken from an Aragonese document.

⁷Eva Seifert, ZRPh, XLVII (1927), 522.

the second and third conjugations is still in preponderant use as compared with the -ia imperfect. On two pages picked at random we found the following: descendien (58a23); corrien (58a26); tenien (58a28); fazien (58a31); acogien (58a36); fazien (58a37); auien (58a39); sintie (58a40); auien (58a43); querien (58a43); fazien (58a46); corrien (58a51); auie (58b10); auie (58b37); fazie (58b37); dizien (58b46); tenie (58b51); podie (58b53); tenie (58b54); fazie (409a8); auie (409a8); dizien (409a10); tenie (409a13); auie (409a40); auien (409a43); traye (409b4); auie (409b10); fazie (409b28); detenien (409b31); querie (409b45). The conditional follows the imperfect indicative in its inflections.¹ On the two pages here consulted we found just two conditionals: aurie (58b16); and podrien (58b32). A glance at our classified list of examples of auer, auer a, and auer de shows the -ia imperfect and conditional are quite rare. Now with the -ie imperfect and conditional, there are eight forms of auer in the indicative ending in -e: e, auie (first and third person singular); oue, ouiste, aure, aurie (first and third person singular); one form ending in -o: ouo; and two ending in -a: a and aura. In the fourteenth century, however, the literary and official language already gave preference to the -ia imperfect.² This means that the forms that formerly ended in -e were now reduced from eight to four: e, oue, ouiste, aure; and those ending in -a were increased from two to six: a, auia (first and third person singular), aura, auria (first and third person singular). The first and third person are precisely the forms used most frequently. This situation placed the preposition a next to an identical vowel many times more often than formerly. This made it difficult to

¹Hanssen, Gram., p. 118, §260.

²Ibid., p. 106, §234.

bring out the fact that one was using a preposition, for it necessitated a hiatus. On the other hand, the time had come when the modal auxiliaries and the causative verbs were about the only ones left that did not need a preposition to introduce a dependent infinitive.¹ But the solution for the difficulty was at hand, for in all such cases the preposition de could be used. Note the cases of the auer a construction in the Ducamin edition of the Libro de buen amor:

abre algunas bulrras aqui aenxerir (45b)
ovose a leuantar (134b)
ouo por mal pecado la dueña affallyr (943b)
ouo aconplir (1060a)
ouose don carnal luego mucho asentyr (1128c)
aver se vos ha vn poco atardar (1266b)
ouosele acaer (1441d)
amorir han (1506c)
he vos lo adesir (1693c)
avemos lo a demandar (1710c)

In none of the above cases does the preposition a come directly after a form of auer ending in -a. When such would be the case, Juan Ruiz uses the preposition de without a single exception:

se ha de saluar (p. 3)
ha de ser (130d)
ha de ser (131a)
ha de ser (131c)
ha de ser (136c)
avia de morir (145a)
avja de ayudar (331d)
ha de faser (716c)
avya de parir (1060c)
se ha de entender (title following 1625)
avra de ayudar (1652d)
ha de perder (1655b)
adeser (1701c)

Consequently, since the auer a construction lost ground so rapidly precisely at the time that the -ia imperfect came to be preferred to -ie form, there can be no doubt that it was one of the important causes contributing to the final disappearance of auer a plus infinitive in favor of auer de.

¹ Beardsley, pp. 98-99.

AUER DE

It has been pointed out that the favorite preposition to introduce infinitives in Vulgar Latin was de.¹ In Vulgar Latin, as in Spanish, de came to be the weakest of all the prepositions, and ultimately was more or less of a sign of the infinitive, whereas ad always preserved too much of its original force to be so used. As a sign of the infinitive, de became more and more widely used, and invaded the territory formerly occupied by other prepositions.²

We have noticed also that where classical Latin had a verb, Vulgar Latin fell into the habit of using habere plus a noun to express the same idea.³ Now when classical Latin had a substantive or an adjective that required a verbal complement, this verbal complement stood in the genitive of the gerund or gerundive.⁴ Early in the Middle Ages, infinitives took the place of the gerund or gerundive. The genitive of the gerund or the gerundive was replaced by de plus an infinitive.⁵ In spoken Latin, habere plus a substantive plus de plus infinitive is a frequent construction. In Old Spanish, this construction is likewise frequent. After auer stood not only substantives, but a number of adverbial phrases as well. If there was a verbal complement with them, it stood in de plus the infinitive. Other prepositions so used were rather exceptional.⁶ The legal documents that we studied, did not show

¹Cuervo, Dicc., II, p. 798, col. 1, s. v. de, Etim[ologia].

²Diez, pp. 948-949; and Beardsley, pp. 97-99.

³Thielmann, p. 196; and Hofmann, Lateinische Umgangssprache, Heidelberg, 1926, p. 165, §150.

⁴Gildersleeve's Latin Grammar, ed. 3, pp. 279-281, §428.

⁵Diez, p. 934.

⁶Beardsley, pp. 124-26, 131, & 137-42.

this construction very far along in its development. This is not surprising in view of the fact that legal language is very conservative. In the Primera Crónica General this construction is really very frequent.

De plus infinitive, as the complement of a noun or pronoun, is often equivalent to adjectives derived from verbs and ending in -able, -ible, or -ero, -era. That they express not only possibility, but an inherent obligation is easily demonstrated. Yerro de enmendar = error emendabilis: it is an error that can be corrected as opposed to one that cannot. However, the point that is stressed is not the fact that it can be corrected, but rather that since it can be corrected it needs to be corrected. In the Cantar de Mio Cid, v. 2082, we find the phrase fijas de casar, which Menéndez Pidal renders: fijas casaderas, 'marriageable daughters.' This means not only that the Cid's daughters have become old enough to marry; there is also the subtle suggestion that marriage is anticipated, not so much because they themselves expected to marry, but rather because it is expected of them--they should marry: it is a social obligation--and that steps are being taken or certainly should be taken toward that end. A reading of the Poema del Cid cannot fail to convince one that the Cid accepted the matter of finding suitable husbands for his daughters as one of his paternal obligations. The same is shown clearly by another instance:

caso este emperador don Alffonso, teniendolo todos sus omnes buenos por bien, ca era en edad de casar et de fazer heredero que mantouiesse los pueblos et los regnos empos el (Cron., 654b18-22).

The thing that is stressed here is not that Alfonso was old enough to marry and provide an heir; on the contrary, an heir and successor was needed. Alfonso accepted the obligation and took the proper steps to have that heir. Cosa de contar is a phrase that

comes up repeatedly in the Primera Crónica General. It usually follows a negative verb. When the historian uses this phrase he does not have in mind something that is or is not worth relating, but rather something that either has or does not have a place in the work he is composing. He must observe the laws of unity: his work needs to contain all the pertinent facts but none that do not contribute toward that goal. Consequently, he is either talking about something that should or should not go into the account that he is writing. All this is plainly illustrated by the following quotations:

et dalli conto siempre la eglesia depues aca todos los fechos granados et las cosas que de contar ouo (Cron., 109a49-51)

non fallamos que conteciesse ninguna cosa que de contar sea (Cron., 106b38-39)

ponemos aqui otrossi de las otras estorias lo que y fallamos que conuenga a esta Estoria dEspanna (Cron., 88a25-28)

Cuervo illustrates the same point thus: he o tengo una carta de escribir, which is equivalent to he o tengo una carta que merece o debe escribirse, hence he o tengo de escribir una carta. Now if language were logical, a statement like he una carta de escribir would be an absurdity. Auer is a transitive verb meaning, primarily, 'to possess,' which is strikingly brought out by the fact that the original and etymological opposite or negative of habere is debere. In popular usage, both of these verbs would apply principally to concrete objects. On the other hand, de escribir shows that the letter is still to be written, and, therefore, has no real existence, but only an intended or imaginary one. It has been suggested that the force of necessity in the gerund in the accusative developed first in cases where the verb was negative.¹ He una carta de escribir is negative in the sense

¹Stolz-Schmalz, p. 594, §176, Zusatz.

that the future is always negative: the letter can have no real existence until it is actually written. Since auer demands, so to speak, for its object a thing that has real and actual existence, it follows that in he una carta de escribir there is expressed in the present an actual need or obligation of giving real existence to the letter at some time in the future. Beyond this, mental association inclines one strongly to construe carta as the object of escribir. This inclination is all the stronger because the letter has no existence until it is written. As we have pointed out above, the de in question here is the relative de. It specifies or points out what is lacking to complete the speaker's thought. So construed, then, he de escribir una carta means 'I have with respect to the writing, that is, except for the writing, a letter.' Consequently, carta construed as the object of escribir brings out the inherent necessity in de escribir in full force.¹

As a rule, when you have the order auer plus noun or pronoun plus de plus infinitive, the construction is clear enough:

auie mayor derecho de lo seer (Cron., 115b10)
auie debdo de lo fazer (Cron., 117a50)
auie mester de se guardar (Cron., 141a7)
nos comiense et a nos mester de nos antuuiar et yr sobrel-
los (Cron., 285b34-36)
nin ouo mester de fazer batallas (Cron., 425a30-31)

When a pronoun stands in place of the noun or when the order is changed so that auer de plus infinitive stand together and the noun or pronoun either precedes auer or follows the infinitive, there are cases where it is difficult to decide whether the noun or pronoun is the object of auer or of the infinitive. This is particularly true when the noun and the infinitive express ideas

¹ Diez, p. 939; Cuervo, Dicc., II, p. 787, cols. 1-2, s. v. de, 14, j, γ, & γγ; and Cantar de Mio Cid, (ed. Menéndez Pidal), I, p. 351, §161, 1.

that are usually associated, an example of which is Cuervo's illustration: he una carta de escribir. Here it is with difficulty that one refrains from considering carta the object of escribir.

Note the following examples:

et dalli conto siempre la eglesia depues aca todos los fechos granados et las cosas que de contar ouo (Cron., 109a51)

e tan grand fue la cuota que el duc Lop et los suyos ouieron de foyr que nunqua el rey Bamba nin los suyos los pudieron alcançar (Cron., 293b20)

nin auie acabada la sed que auie de uerter sangre (Cron., 331b43)

pensaron en comol podrien toller el regno luego en su comienço por quexa que auien de encrobir la fama de como fuxieran (Cron., 349a28)

tan grand coraçon auie de uencer o de morir (Cron., 402b36-37)

les he mandado que merquen en el Alcudia quanto ouieren de merçar (Cron., 589b23)

con grant cuyta que ouiste de te asconder (Cron., 621a26-27)

Further, there are cases where it does not make the slightest difference whether the noun or pronoun is taken as the object of auer or of the infinitive:

el regno en que non auie ninguna cosa de uer por derecho (Cron., 368b9-10)

non auiendo al de fazer estonces (Cron., 484b36-37)

mostraronse por muy cobdiciosos en las cosas que auien de partir (Cron., 548b22)

porque ellas non ouiessem al de cuedar nin de fazer sinon seruir a Dios et alabarle (Cron., 685b7-8)¹

And in contrast with these examples, we have found a case where either al, cosa, ninguna cosa, or nada is omitted altogether:

et ell [Alhagib Alhameri] ordenaua todas las cosas del regno, de guisa que Mahomat non auie y de uer sinon tan

¹In this connection, compare also the examples that we have collected to show that auer de plus infinitive expresses purpose, p. 126.

solamiente el nombre que aue de rey (Cron., 456b49-52).

It is our opinion, therefore, that auer de plus infinitive owes its existence to the following considerations: firstly, the preposition de was constantly gaining in popularity as the sign of the infinitive and made many inroads in the territory formerly occupied by other prepositions; secondly, it was particularly encouraged to do so by all these various locutions with auer plus a noun, pronoun, or adverbial phrase plus de plus infinitive, and, perhaps principally, by the ones that expressed necessity, such as auer mester de or auer debdo de; and, thirdly, the force of necessity was inherent in the de plus infinitive construction, and lent itself quite readily to its full development.¹

In our classified list, we observe that so far as usage or function is concerned, there is no difference between auer a and auer de plus infinitive. We have noted that the original force of auer a was that of purpose. That the preposition de is sometimes used to express purpose is shown by the fact that at times we find per or por in its place.² In the Fuero de Miranda de Ebro we read:

habeant licentiam liberam et quietam comparandi et accipiendi
habeant licentiam comparandi et accipiendi et lucrandi

while in the Fuero de Logroño we find a preposition plus an infin-

¹For Italian, Elise Richter (ZRPh, XLIV (1924), 96) postulates the following development: degno da lodare = lodabile, which expresses a situation that can be rendered by the use of esse. Thus degno da lodare induces è da lodare. This is passive, and in turn induces the active ho da lodare. We hesitate to accept this development for Spanish because our early texts fail to indicate which of the two, auer de or seer de plus infinitive, is the older. In the Cantar de Mio Cid, Menéndez Pidal (I, p. 352, §161, 2) found that seer de plus infinitive is rare, while auer de plus infinitive occurs more than half as many times as auer a (see above, p. 116). This situation makes one suspect, at any rate, that in Spanish auer de plus infinitive is older than seer de plus infinitive.

²

See above, pp. 114-115.

itive in place of the genitive of the gerund:

habeant absoluta licencia per comprare hereditate
habeant absoluta licencia de comprare ropa, trapos, bestias¹

In some of the examples of auer de plus infinitive in Old Spanish, the force of purpose is just as evident as it is in the auer a construction:

todaquelos que alguna ren ouieren de ueher por el (Doc. ling., 278, 39)

los cleriçones que ouieren de seruir la egleſia (Doc. ling., 319, 20)

essa merindat que vos avedes de veer (Covarrubias, 113)

e oyeron que ay auia de comer pan (Gen., XLIII:25)

la obra que han de fazer (Exo., XVIII: 20)

el seruicio que avia de fazer e sus cargas a trér (Num. IV:49)

murio y Memio, so cunnado, marido de su hermana que auie de ueer todos los derechos del imperio (Cron., 56a41)

llamauan presides a los que auien de ueer las prouincias et las tierras (Cron., 87b3)

auino assi que Estilico el conde, que auie de deffender et de gouernar ell imperio de occidente so los emperadores (Cron., 205b5-6)

metiol una yerua empoçonada en el uino que auie de beuer (Cron., 300a37-38)

desamparo las oueias que auie de guardar como allegadizo et malo (Cron., 309a1)

a este don Ordonno diera el rey don Alffonso, so padre, Gallizia por tierra que la ouiesse el de uer et de guardar (Cron., 383a53)

et cuo ell de iudgar toda Castiella (Cron., 388a23)

Now since habere plus infinitive and habere ad plus infinitive originally expressed purpose,² but subsequently became expressions of necessity, it is logical that habere de plus infinitive expressing purpose should also express necessity.

¹Lanchetas, Gramática y vocabulario de . . . Berceo, I, pp. 929-930.

²Hanssen, Gram., pp. 253-54, §610.

TWO OR MORE DEPENDENT INFINITIVES

When there is more than one dependent infinitive, there is a marked tendency to put the preposition only with the first one, omitting it with those that follow:

auer a

as a endereçar por cabildo e mandar (Doc. ling., 6, 19-20)
nin auedes adesaforar los omnes de Paredes nin fazer les
tuerto (Doc. ling., 189, 11-12)
auredes a jurar njn caer (Doc. ling., 228, 38)
auctis adprendere et perpetim obtinere (Eslonza, 85)
aquello aulen a fazer e non se tirar dello (Cron., 37b50-51)
quo a descender del cavallo, et leuarle por la rienda (Cron.,
60a34-35)
quo a salir de la tierra por fuerça et yrse (Cron., 409a16-17)
le ouieron a dar las puertas et recebirle (Cron., 459b11-12)
se le ouieron a dar et meterse so el su sennorio (Cron.,
480a31-32)
ouieron a fazer et complir¹ todo (Cron., 496a34-35)
ouolo a oyr et saber (Cron., 553a27)
se auien a armar, et aiuntar (Cron., 596b39-40)
auyen a heredar et reynar (Cron., 623a29)
as a dexar este mundo et yrte (Cron., 633b37-38)
auie a pensar et catar (Cron., 669a23)

auer de

e de llorar por el e auer cada dia mayor tristicia (Cron.,
33b37)
ouieron siempre esto de seer los unos muy cobdiciosos de
auer el sennorio mas que otra cosa, los otros cobdiclar
ell auer (Cron., 57b8-10)
ouieronse de arrancar por fuerça et dexar a los cristianos
el campo (Cron., 405b8-9)
auie de seer rey et regnar (Cron., 713a9-10)

On the other hand, it is not uncommon to find the preposition repeated with the second and following infinitives:

auer a

ni auedes esta villa e esta hereditat a uender ni adar ni a
enpennar ni de otra gujsa nenguna a enagenar (Doc. ling.,
189, 12-13)

la tierra en que auedes a entrar e a morar (Lev., XX:22)

ouieron a seer so el poderio de los romanos e a obedece-
llos (Cron., 45a3-4)

¹ See p. 86, note 1.

porque ouieron despues a lidiar et a contecer entrellos
cuemo contaremos adelant (Cron., 57527)

a Silano, so suegro, fizo tanto que se ouo a degollar con
una nauaia et a matar (Cron., 116b50-51)

se ouo a despoiar aquella uestidura que uistie et a echarla
tenduda sobre los çarçales por que estaua descalço, et a
andar sobrella de pies et de manos (Cron., 128a38-41)

aya cada uno a otorgar o a negar aquello (Cron., 189b19-20)

ouieron a dexar a Espanna et a passar a Affrica (Cron.,
233b28)

ouieron a desanparar las casas et a foyr (Cron., 730b24)

ouieron a tirar las puertas et a ensanchar la entrada
(Cron., 769a9)

auer de

ouieron se de uencer e de encerrar en la cibdat (Cron.,
49b9-10)

auie de deffender et de gouernar ell imperio (Cron., 205b5-6)

In all of the above cases, it was the same preposition that was repeated. We have noted only three cases in which the second preposition is not the same as the first one. In all three cases, the preposition de is used with the first infinitive, a with the second:

el seruicio que avia de fazer e sus cargas a trer (Num.,
IV:49)

dixol allí sant Esidro qual día auie de finir et la ora
en que ell alma se auie a partir de la su carne (Cron.,
493b18-19)

ouieron de fazer et a complir todo quanto que el dixo
(Cron., 496a34-35, MS F)

INTERVENING COMPLEMENTS

In our comments on Nebrija's use of auer de plus infinitive,¹ we remarked that he, apparently, considered the construction to be a unit. Such, however, is not the case in the texts that we studied. Here all manner of complements are put between the auxiliary and

¹See above, p. 4, note 1.

the preposition followed by the infinitive. Most common of all are the pronouns:

auer a

ouisti me a dare (Documentos de tierra de León, 30)
oulemos nos a encloir (Doc. ling., 28, 60)
a lo a decir (Doc. ling., 161, 12-13)
a lo a pechar (Doc. ling., 161, 19)
annos a dar (Doc. ling., 180, 18)
les avedes vos a dar conducho (Covarrubias, 122)
al logar que Dios . . . a nos a dar (Num., X:29)
ouosse a leuantar (Cron., 47b12)
ouieron los a dexar (Cron., 54b13)
ouieron se a tornar (Cron., 75b28)
ouo gelo a otorgar (Cron., 144b18)
ouolo a recebir (Cron., 157a35)
ouieron le a obedecer (Cron., 232b19)
ouensele a dar (Cron., 699b22)

auer de

ha el de quitar debdas (Doc. ling., 281, 13)

We found just one case of the pronoun between the preposition and the infinitive:

ouiemos de les facer bien e mercet (Covarrubias, 106)

In addition to pronouns, all sorts of other complements are found between the auxiliary and the preposition followed by the infinitive:

auer

non aujen dereectura sobre a chel molino de moleo auer ninguno (Doc. ling., 80, 10)

auer a

oujemos nos, el prior ⁊ el conuentu sobre dicho, aquere-
 llar (Doc. ling., 64, 14-15)
 ni auedes esta villa ⁊ esta heredit a uender ni adar ni a
 enpennar ni de otra gujsa nenguna a enagenar (Doc.
 ling., 189, 12-13)
 no han y a cortar . . . ni han y a facer (Covarrubias, 107)
 ni han y a facer (Covarrubias, 108)
 mas de lo que ouiere Eleazar el sacerdot a fazer (Num.,
 XXVII:21)
 las naciones do uos ha Dios a leuar (Deu., IV:27)
auien le por fuerça a dar (Cron., 9b25)
auie el templo de Jupiter a guardar (Cron., 34b17)
e auer depues a menguar (Cron., 35a29-30)
 de que se a el mundo a aprouechar (Cron., 95b15)
auien ellos por fuerça a dexar la guerra (Cron., 136a13)
quantas cosas auemos nos oy a dezir (Cron., 189b10)

aya cada uno a otorgar o a negar aquello (Cron., 189b19-20)
se aura por tu culpa a perder toda Castiella (Cron., 412b18)
 de guisa quel ouieron todos a pechar (Cron., 530b40-41)
auien por ende a fazer una destas cosas (Cron., 560b32)
se auien todos a llegar (Cron., 603a11)
he tan ayna a finar (Cron., 634b8)

auer de

non les he nunq[ua] de demandar (Doc. ling., 31, 9)
 non les he mas de demandar (Doc. ling., 31, 12)
auien aun de poner (Cron., 268a2)
an ende de salir (Cron., 271b48)
auien a el de obedescer (Cron., 297b30)
ouose Almançor por esta razon de tornar (Cron., 445b46)
auie de su natura de seer tan bueno (Cron., 671a17-18)

INVERSION

The usual order for these constructions is auxiliary followed by the preposition, if there is one, plus the infinitive. The cases in which the auxiliary follows the infinitive are rather exceptional:

auer

concipere uel parere debuerat [abierat] (Glosas Silenses, 16)

auer a

que a conprar auian (Doc. ling., 91, 19)
 pues que a perder te (Cron., 41a7-8)
 pues que lo a fazer auedes (Cron., 435b8)
a yr nos auremos (Cron., 530a34)
a morir auemos (Cron., 738b25)
a beuir auien (Cron., 749b48)

auer de

si de escapar ouiera (Cron., 96a7)
si el de morar a en Toledo (Cron., 340a52)
de finar ouo (Cron., 772a6-7)

The preposition, therefore, though in some Hispanic dialects it leaned so strongly toward the auxiliary that it finally became attached to it, in Castillian precedes the infinitive without exception. It is so strongly felt to belong to the infinitive that any complements of any sort between it and the infinitive are extremely rare. On the other hand, no such union was felt between the auxiliary and the infinitive. Frequently, they are widely

separated. But even here we find them in juxtaposition more often than not. The situation is the same in Juan Ruiz. In Nebrija, we have observed, complements are put before the auxiliary or after the infinitive. In the auxiliary he usually uses the contracted form of auer, though the full form is not hard to find.¹

MOOD OF THE AUXILIARY

In modern Spanish, a clause expressing surprise or indignation, introduced by Que . . . or Y que . . . , takes the subjunctive, but haber de plus infinitive stand in the indicative or subjunctive indifferently.² In the texts that we studied, we find auer nearly always in the indicative, though, as our classified list shows, auer, auer a, and auer de plus infinitive are found mostly in dependent clauses. This corresponds to the development Thielmann observed in Latin, for as late as Tertullian habere plus infinitive was found only in dependent clauses.³ He also observed that habere consistently stood in the indicative. The explanation for it lies in the fact that in Latin verbs of ability and necessity usually stood in the indicative where other verbs had to be in the subjunctive.⁴ The same phenomenon has been observed in Italian, for the auxiliary in avere a and avere da usually stands in the indicative in usages where other verbs must be in the subjunctive.⁵ On the other hand, while it is true that auer, auer a, and auer de usually stand in the indicative, there are plenty of cases where they are found in the subjunctive. However, since it

¹ See our Introduction, p. 4, note 1.

² Amado Alonso, RFE, XII (1925), 153, note 1.

³ Thielmann, pp. 83 & 87.

⁴ Thielmann, pp. 55-56.

⁵ Vockeradt, Lehrbuch der italienischen Sprache, I: Grammatik der italienischen Sprache, Berlin, 1878, p. 253, §284, 6.

is a modal auxiliary, there is no need of putting auer in the subjunctive, for to do so is expressing the mood doubly.¹ All this is very strikingly brought out in parallel constructions:

auer a

esta es la abenencia qe faz el abbadessa de Uillaenna con Pedro Felizes: a a uenir Pedro Felizes a rio de Anguiellas, e a a fer Pedro Felizes sue casa, ⁊ qel de el abbadessa la mestad de la madera, ⁊ qe la tengan Pedro Felizes ⁊ su mugier en sos dias, ⁊ qe de a su fin Pedro Felizes .XX. morauedis, ⁊ de quanta heredad hi laurare de el quarto Pedro Felizes, ⁊ qe curle el ganado sin ninguna mission del abbadessa (Doc. ling., 47, 6)

en tal guisa que quando yo o aquellos que lo mio ouieren a heredar dieren rendida de .XVI. morauedis a Sancta Maria, ques partan los sennores de la uinea ⁊ los mios herederos qui lo mio heredaren (Doc. ling., 154, 10)

por que non uengades despues a otras contiendas njn auredes a jurar njn caer en otras sentencias (Doc. ling., 228, 38)

semeiame que auras a buscar otro amor nuevo e otra fe que des a la que amares, quel fallezcas depues assi cuemo a mi fallecist (Cron., 40a29)

auer de

los ganados de Cuevasrrruvias han de pascor de dia, de sol a sol, en los terminos de Sant Pedro de Arlanza, e de noche que se tornen a yacer a su termino (Covarrubias, 108)

los ganados de Sant Martin de Coytrales han de pascor en los terminos de Cuebarruvias de dia, de sol a sol, e de noche que se tornen a yacer a su termino (Covarrubias, 108)

mostrauan le cuemo auie de fazer quando uiniesse a tiempo de regnar, et cuemo uengasse a so padre (Cron., 16b44-45)

NECESSITY

That auer a and auer de plus infinitive express necessity is the one thing that is universally accepted. Auer plus infinitive is usually thought to occur only in the present and imperfect indicative, and that the resulting structure is equivalent to a future or conditional. One of its original forces was that of necessity, and Beardsley showed not only that it occurs in other

¹ See above, pp. 21-22.

tenses beside the present and imperfect indicative, but also that at times it still has the force of necessity.¹

Nearly every one who has written on the subject has distinguished between two types of necessity. These two types have been variously termed. Some use the terms necessity and obligation, moral obligation, moral duty, or duty. Probably the most suggestive of the real situation are either absolute and moral obligation,² or objective and subjective necessity.³ Now it is a fact that every one either consciously or unconsciously distinguishes between these two types. The process, however, is wholly subjective, so that it is not to be expected that any two persons use the same criteria for determining this distinction. These criteria are determined pretty largely by previous training, by one's profession or station in society. They are also conditioned by the importance a person attaches to the feelings of his family or his associates, as well as to public opinion. Consequently, there will be a wide difference of opinion on this matter in the different social classes. If a member of the four hundred has a yearning to become a dish-washer in a Greek restaurant, he must suppress it. To those in the lowest ranks of society, this appears to be sheer nonsense. Likewise, a minister of the Gospel will, in all probability, feel that he should not drink beer. Paul Carus made a study of the idea of necessity, but since he was writing for the philosopher, his distinctions are of little service to us.⁴ For one thing, he says that compulsion and necessity must not be confounded, for compulsion excludes the exer-

¹Beardsley, pp. 24-27.

²Gildersleeve's Latin Grammar, ed. 3, p. 169, §255, Remark.

³Diez, p. 935.

⁴Paul Carus, "The Idea of Necessity: its Basis and its Scope," Monist, III (1892), 68-96.

cise of the free will and necessity does not. Likewise, necessity must be carefully distinguished from the idea of fate.¹ Yet the standard dictionaries, without exception, show that in current usage necessity includes the idea of fate as well as compulsion. In view of all these considerations, then, we have abandoned our original intention of distinguishing between objective and subjective necessity. The matter is so highly subjective that any one person's classification would be practically valueless to anyone else. Besides the attempt brought out nothing that is not shown just as well, and perhaps better, by the classification we have adopted.

Probably the most frequent use of our idiom is to indicate legal stipulations, regulations imposed by superior authority, instructions and directions of all sorts, and, as such, it comes up repeatedly in royal decrees, laws, clerical ordinances, military regulations, wills, deeds, property transfers, mortgages, etc.:

auer a

pesquisa que an a fazer por fuero (Doc. ling., 6, 9)

a asseer a este fuero (Doc. ling., 6, 14)

an a fazer fuero de sancta Juliana (Doc. ling., 6, 16)

auie[n] air por foro a mercado de Miranda (Doc. ling., 43, 35)

que nos auiemos auer con derecho en los nuestros rengalengos (Doc. ling., 141, 58)

no han y a cortar leña, ni verde ni seca, ni han y a facer fuego (Covarrubias, 107)

estos consules daquel anno primero, no auiendo a seer mas de dos en el anno, fueron cinco (Cron., 88a35)

auien por ley a ayuntar se y entonce todas las gentes (Cron., 136b18)

ueno luego sobrel con grand hueste et guerreol porque tomara el solo el imperio que auie a seer de su sobrino (Cron., 379b25)

¹ Ibid., pp. 69 & 86.

los caualleros fueron despagados dell porque siempre auien a andar armados et nunca los dexaua folgar (Cron., 398a5)

fallaron por derecho que quien reptaua conceio que auie a lidiar con cinco uno en pos otro (Cron., 515b32)

aquellos derechos quel auien a dar (Cron., 562a24)

et puso a cada vno en su seruicio, segunt que lo auie a fazer (Cron., 589b46)

et commo auedes a fazer dalli adelante, yo uos lo mostrare todo, ante que me de uos parta (Cron., 634b14)

de commo esto serie et ellos auien a fazer por que se cumpliesse, todo lo querie el dexar en mano del obispo (Cron., 634b40)

commo auredes a fazer despues desto, yo uos lo ensennare cras quando fiziere el mio testamento (Cron., 635b26-27)

deuedes a saber lo que auedes a fazer en tal fecho commo este (Cron., 738b23)

auer de

los ganados de Cuevasrruuias han de pascor de dia, de sol a sol, en los terminos de Sant Pedro de Arlanza (Covarrubias, 108)

auie escriptas letras en derredor en que yazien escriptos todos los saberes e las naturas de las cosas e cuemo sauien dobrar (Cron., 12b47)

luego tomaua todo quant auie dexado, et no daua ninguna cosa a los que lo auien de heredar (Cron., 140b46)

sopo por demostrança del Nuestro Sennor que auie de fazer (Cron., 182b14-15)

ell obispado de Dumio que a de obedescer a Bragana (Cron., 296a3)

estos son dizenueue obispados, et an de obedecer all archobispado de Toledo (Cron., 297a9)

auino assi que ouo de yr este cuende Julian de que dezimos a tierra de Africa en mandaderia del rey Rodrigo (Cron., 207b42-43)

ouo mucho bien fecho en las eglesias, et puestos obispos alli o los auie de auer (Cron., 337a52)

Ambroz sabie ya todo el fecho et commo auie de fazer (Cron., 352a6)

aquellas guardas que auien de aguardar a Yssem por mandado de Almançor (Cron., 430a15-16)

en los uuestros palacios non ha de posar otro, sinon uos

(Cron., 615b3-4)

mandoles que les demostrassen los moiones que auien de guardar (Cron., 626a25)

We also find it used a great deal as an expression of physical necessity:

auer a

el braço del mar que auien a passar por nauio (Cron., 11b7)

ca touo que era mejor pedirles poco, e yr todavia creciendo, que non pedilles mucho, e auer depues a menguar (Cron., 35a29-30)

pues que a perder te, mas querria que fues seyendo tu uiuo que muerto (Cron., 41a7-8)

uino a logares tan fuertes et tan trabajosos, que ouo a descender del cauallo, et leuarle por la rienda (Cron., 60a34-35)

quando la metieron en la uilla non pudo caber por la puerta, et ouieron a tirar las puertas et a ensanchar la entrada (Cron., 769a9)

auer de

tan grand estudio ponie en guardar la uoz cuemo uos de suso dixiemos, que por tal de la guardar, quando auie de llamar algun cauallero, otri lo llamaua por el (Cron., 122b46)

pues que las paredes daquela eglesias [read: eglesia] fueron alçadas como deuien, auien aun de poner en ell un fastial della una piedra aymant (Cron., 268a2)

It is used to express what is inevitable or preordained:

auer a

ca esta uida auremos nos a fazer fasta que Dios quiera (Cron., 534a26)

a morir auemos, et de la muerte ninguno de nos non se puede escusar (Cron., 738b25)

auer de

e con amor de lidiar por ganar y, crecioles en los coraçonnes la nemiga que auie de contecer (Cron., 73a18)

auino assi, segund cuenta en la su estoria, que poco tiempo ante de la muerte de Julio Cesar contescieron por el mundo muchas sennales por que pudiera ell entender su muerte, si de escapar ouiera¹ (Cron., 96a7)

¹ See p. 66, note 1.

io quan buen uergel et quan fermoso et quan sabroso sieglo este, si nunca omne ouiesse de morir en ell! (Cron. 377b1)

el uicioso et el lazrado amos an de morir, et non lo puede escusar ell uno nin ell otro (Cron., 398b12)

ca la carrera de toda la carne esta es, que toda alma que en carne biua, por fuerça de la natura quel puso Nuestro Sennor Dios, a de yr a la muerte (Cron., 736b18)

It occurs quite frequently as an expression of compulsion, a force which habere plus infinitive had in Medieval Latin:¹

auer a

auie conquista la tierra e auien le por fuerça a dar los omnes la meatad de quanto auien (Cron., 9b25)

fue contra ellos tan mal andante por que ouo a fazer tal pleytesia que non fue onra de los romanos (Cron., 29a19)

de manera que los de Petreo et de Affranio non pudiessen auer agua de ninguna part, et que los aquexarien alli con la sed, de guisa que sin lid aurien a uenir a lo que el quisiesse (Cron., 74b54)

pero al cabo ouieron se a uencer por que no auien quien los ayudasse (Cron., 207b13)

a Sangibano con los alanos pusieron en la delantera por tal que ouiesse a seer bueno por fuerça (Cron., 235a38)

et combatiol [el castiello] tan fuerte, que los moros non se pudieron tener nin defender por ninguna guisa, et ouieron a dar el castiello al conde por fuerça (Cron., 391b48)

de guisa que los castilleros non ouiessem rentas ningunas pora esforçar a defenderse, et que enflaqueçrien et aurien por ende a fazer una destas cosas (Cron., 560b32)

auer de

los moros non lo pudieron ya soffrir, et ouieronse de arrancar por fuerça et dexar a los cristianos el campo (Cron., 405b8-9)

ouose de tornar a su tierra apesar de si por esta pestilencia quel ueno (Cron., 449a24)

et por que los cristianos que uinien y con ellos eran muy fuertes et lidiauan muy de rezio, ouieronse de uencer por fuerça los de la parte de Çulema (Cron., 456b15)

¹ Du Cange, III, s. v. habere, 3, where he gives as its meaning: cogi, compelli or Fr. être forcé.

It is used, likewise, to state the conditions of mutual agreements and promises:

auer a

esta es la abenencia qe faz el abbadessa de Uillaenna con Pedro Felizes: a a uenir Pedro Felizes a rio de Anguiellas, e a a fer Pedro Felizes sue casa, ~ qel de el abbadessa la meata¹ de la madera (Doc. ling., 47, 6)

quando uino el plazo de los tres meses, quando auie a dar respuesta a aquellos mandaderos, subio¹ en una grand torre (Cron., 38a15)

Abenrrazin . . . auie a pechar X mill marauedis por la postura que con el pusiera (Cron., 565a9)

auer de

si nolo fiziere, jo don Pero e de complir al magistro heredades de ques cumpla el de sus morabedis (Doc. ling., 316, 14)

And, lastly, it is used a great deal to express the fitness, propriety, or expediency of an action:

auer a

los canonigos desse mismo logar se me enviaron querellar e dizen que quando acaezen y Inffantes o ricos-omes o otros omes poderosos, que les avedes vos a dar conducho (Covarrubias, 122)

era muy uagaroso en dar las dignidades a los nobles omnes a qui las auie a dar (Cron., 137a39)

pero que peso al rey mucho, ouolo a fazer (Cron., 353a25)

si yo tal so como tu dizes, non ouiera yo a nascer (Cron., 513b25)

esta tierra es angosta et non podemos en ella fincar . . . et de como yo cuedo a yr nos auremos daqui (Cron., 530a34)

el Çid ouo a fazer lo que el rey le mando, mucho amidos de ssi (Cron., 619a40)

auer de

rogol quel conseiasse com auie de fazer en aquel fecho, pues que ell era uno daquellos daquel conseio (Cron., 32a53)

a ti he de agradecer por que so yo aun uiua (Cron., 135b15)

¹ See above, p. 59, note 2.

ni digo cosas de uerguenna, ni de que me aya de arrepentir
(Cron., 143a24)

todos tenien que ell aurie de regnar despues del rey
Recesuindo, e acordaron se todos en ell e alçaron le
rey (Cron., 283b41-42)

el sennor ase de conseiar mucho a menudo por que non le
ayan los omnes en quel trauar (Cron., 419a38)

si yo non uo al Çid, mio tío et mio sennor, a dezirle com-
mo contesçio esta mal, el non lo podra saber por otri, et
non tomara ende aquella vengança que a de tomar (Cron.,
609b25)

In these expressions of necessity, when the auxiliary is in the preterit, the meaning is that the obligation existed in the past and was complied with in the past, whereas when it is in the imperfect, we are left in doubt as to whether the obligation was complied with or not. But there were exceptions to this usage, and Latin often used the preterit to show this doubt as to whether or not the obligation was complied with. On the Italian Peninsula the preterit was evidently the more frequent of the two tenses in this use, for in Italian the conditional is formed from the infinitive plus the preterit of habere.¹ This construction, though rare, also existed in Spain, and the texts that we studied furnish a few examples of it:²

auer a

les quitamos todas las demandas que auemos contra aque-
llos que ouieron atraer el diezmo en plata 7 lo non troxie-
ron (Doc. ling., 141, 51)

pro illos DC. solidos auriensos que abuimus ad pariare
(Covarrubias, 43)

FUTURE AND CONDITIONAL

Any one who holds the opinion that auer, auer a, and auer de plus infinitive express only necessity will find numbers of

¹Gamillscheg, Studien zur Vorgeschichte einer romanischen Tempuslehre, Wien, 1913, p. 62.

²

See above, p. 36, note 2, and p. 37, note 1.

cases like las alas de virtudes nos an a levar,¹ where it is difficult to establish any force of necessity. He will likewise wonder why some such phrase as por fuerça is so often used with auer a and auer de plus infinitive. An English-speaking person will think of similar expressions in his own language, such as must needs, necessarily, or perforce. While must does express necessity, it also has other uses. Consequently, at times an adverb like needs, necessarily, or perforce is used along with it to show clearly that necessity is intended. Applying the same reasoning to Spanish, one concludes that auer, auer a, and auer de plus infinitive do not always express necessity, for if they did, there would be no earthly motive for using por fuerça along with them.

The adverbial phrase most frequently used to show clearly that necessity is meant is por fuerça. Larsen found forçada mente so used.² The following examples will show that others were also so used:

auer a

auie conquista la tierra e auien le por fuerça a dar los omnes la meatad de quanto auien (Cron., 9b25)

por fuerça los ouieron a uencer (Cron., 31b27)

ouieron se a tornar por fuerça (Cron., 75b28)

auien por fuerça a seer buenos (Cron., 93b13)

se allego tod el Senado de Roma, et mandaron cuemo por fuerça et por sentencia que recibiesse ell imperio Helio Pertinax, el non queriendo seer emperador enninguna manera . . . Pero ouolo a recebir mal so grado (Cron., 157a35)

ouieron a dar el castiello al conde por fuerça (Cron., 391b48)

auer de

¹ Berceo, Sacrificio de la misa, ed. Solalinde, Madrid, 1913, 183.

² Larsen, p. 52.

cuose de tornar a su tierra apesar de si por esta pesti-
lencia (Cron., 449a24)

cuieronse de uencer por fuerça (Cron., 456b15)

The above examples show, further, that there was no fixed place for this adverbial phrase, but that the speaker or writer put it where it best suited his convenience. These phrases are used a great deal with auer a, but rather rarely with auer de. The logical inference is that as an expression of necessity auer de was still felt to be stronger than auer a.

Another thing that will make one suspicious about the view that auer a and auer de plus infinitive always express necessity is that already in the Primera Crónica General we find tener de plus infinitive:

por muy mas ligera cosa tengo de perder las mis palabras
(Cron., 40a1-2)

ca no uiamos aun por el tiempo en que tenemos de dezir
desta estoria en que somos (Cron., 242b15)

et si pudiera, repintierase daquela mierca ca teniesse
de perder el regno por y (Cron., 422a36-37 variant)

And the passive of this construction:

sera tenuto de fazer iusticia a los querellosos (Cron.,
142b32-33)

fuessen tenudas egualmientre de uengar la sangre de sos
maridos (Cron., 219a1-2)

ca tenudos somos de aguardarte et de te seruir et fazer
tu mandado (Cron., 447a29-30)

don Alffonso non fue tenuto de guardargela despues (Cron.,
515a23-24)

non era tenuto de guardar lo que pusiera con ellos (Cron.,
587b29-30)

tenemos que deues ser tenido de lo fazer (Cron., 590b3)

yo so tenuto de uos fazer mucho bien (Cron., 601a32-33)

don Aluaro fuesse tenido de seguir et aguardar al rey
(Cron., 716b14-15)

sienpre fue tenuto del ayudar et giar en todos sus fechos,
et del adelantar et puar en todas ondras (Cron., 771b41-43)

is found even before the Primera Crónica General. We found one instance of the reflexive:

marauillose mucho de cuemo se podie el philosopho tener de
fablar tan porfiosamiente (Cron., 146b22)

There is one instance without a preposition:

somos tenudos partir rendas et tierra, et dar a nuestros
grandes omnes (Cron., 666a15-16)

Since it is apparent, then, that the idiom we are discussing did not always express necessity, it is natural to recollect that when the formula cantare habeo had ceased to express necessity, it remained as a future tense. If one way of expressing necessity was weakened by constant usage until all the modal force was gone and nothing left but the original temporal form, we can easily suppose that another expression of necessity that is in every way identical to the one that had become the future tense might likewise become a future.

No one ever pretended that there was any difference between cantare habeo and habeo cantare so far as syntax and meaning are concerned. In both, the infinitive is the complement of habeo and expresses purpose.¹ The force of purpose gave way to that of necessity. As for habeo ad cantare, the prepositional infinitive is the complement of habeo. The original force is that of purpose which gave way to that of necessity. Likewise, both state the necessity in the present; whatever action is brought out comes necessarily in the future. So then, habeo cantare and habeo ad cantare are identical in every way except that in the case of one we have the so-called pure infinitive, in the other the prepositional infinitive. Inasmuch as the two structures are identical in all important details, it follows that ha-

1

Hanssen, pp. 253-254, §610.

bere ad has all the qualifications necessary to make it possible for it to develop into a simple future.

Going outside of Spain for the moment, we find that in Italian avere a plus infinitive is used as a future.¹ In Sardinian, the future is formed by habere plus infinitive, but in the dialect of Logudoro habere ad plus infinitive is the way the future tense is expressed.² Habere ad plus infinitive is also found in this use in Old Rumanian.³

As for Old Spanish, Cornu collected a number of hypermetric verses that had in them the auer a plus infinitive construction. All of them are taken from Old Spanish poems of the twelfth, thirteenth, and fourteenth centuries. He found that the easiest way to correct them was to delete the preposition a. He concluded that the scribes were unfamiliar with the non-prepositional construction and simply inserted the preposition. Auer plus infinitive with auxiliary in pre-position usually stood for a future tense. If the scribes could modernize a future tense form by inserting a preposition, the prepositional form must likewise have stood for a future.⁴

A condition that must have contributed toward this development is the fact that the future itself is used to express necessity.⁵ The Ten Commandments, which are, in effect, two commandments and eight prohibitions, use the future throughout.⁶

¹Vockeradt, Lehrbuch der italienischen Sprache, I: Grammatik der italienischen Sprache, Berlin, 1878, p. 253, §284, 6.

²Diez, p. 490.

³Meyer-Lübke, Gram., II, §112.

⁴See above, pp. 13-14.

⁵Cantar de Mio Cid, ed. Menéndez Pidal, I, p. 357, §166, 1; Berceo, Milagros de Nuestra Señora, ed. Solalinde, Madrid, 1922, p. 125, note to 525d; and Foerster, Spanische Sprachlehre, p. 364, §451, d.

⁶"Textes castillans inédits, III: De los Diez Mandamientos," ed. Morel-Fatio, Romania, XVI (1887), 379-380.

This is the future used in a categorical command and is, therefore, the strongest form of necessity. If the future and conditional express necessity, it would only be natural for the people to use an expression of necessity to express the future and conditional, particularly so since that was precisely what they had done to get the future they were using most frequently. Here again the separable future and conditional would have its influence in that the people would see that the auxiliary that they use to form the future is the same one that they use to form their expression of necessity.

As for auer de plus infinitive, if we are correct in our contention that this is the result of an encroachment of the de-infinitive on the territory of the a-infinitive, auer de should show the same usages as auer a plus infinitive. The two constructions are again identical. The de-infinitive is the complement of auer. Like auer a, there are cases where the force of purpose is quite clear. It also expresses necessity. The results of our study show that by the end of the thirteenth century auer a did not have a single usage that was not also expressed by auer de plus infinitive. Auer de had not yet reached its full development, for auer a is still in predominance and it is not as easy to find as many clear examples of auer de showing the various usages as it is of auer a. Rohlfs finds auer de used for a future in Italian (avere da), Catalan, Asturian, Portuguese, and Spanish. On the Iberian Peninsula he finds it so used as early as the eleventh century.¹

¹Rohlfs, pp. 105-154. For other references regarding auer a and auer de used to express the future and conditional, see our Introduction, pp. 3-27; also Cejador y Frauca, La Lengua de Cervantes, I, Madrid, 1905, p. 263; and Lerch, Die Verwendung des romanischen Futurums, Leipzig, 1919, p. 61, note 1, and pp. 173 and 239.

A good proportion of the legal documents published by Menéndez Pidal in his Documentos lingüísticos have a stereotyped opening sentence. The following are typical:

notum sit omnibus hominibus tam presentibus quam futuris
(253, 4-5)

conoscidacosa sea atodos los omnes que son ⁊ que seran
(257, 4)

cosa conocida sea a todos omnes, alos qui agora son como
ad aquellos q[ue] uernan adelant (262, 26-27)

conoscida cosa sea a todos omnes, asi alos presentes como
alos qui son por uenir (270, 4-5)

connoscida cosa sea a todos los que agora son ⁊ alos que
son por uenir (210, 5-6)

conocuda cosa sea atodos los quj son ⁊ a los qui an por
uenir (180, 4-5)

connoçida cosa sea a todos los que son ⁊ han a seer (216,3)

conocida cosa sea atodos los que son ⁊ an de seer (214, 27)

The following are like the above, but do not occur in the opening sentence:

sus vicarios que agora son o fueren de aqui adelante (207,38)
los qui somos agora ni los qui uernan despues de nos (197,17)
los presentes olos que an de uenir ssobre nos (106, 24)

And in a text of the year 1111, ad plus infinitive appears as an expression of future time:

illos topos de Garde et de Nauarzat qui ibi sunt natos et
anaiser.¹

The foregoing examples, with the first underlined form in the present, the second one in the future, show without a shadow of a doubt that both auer a and auer de plus infinitive are used to express the future. They also show a general confusion regarding the way to express the future. This is brought out all the more strikingly by the fact that no such confusion exists regarding the way to express the present. While the regular Romance future

¹ Menéndez Pidal, Orígenes del español, p. 372, §72, 2.

occurs here along with the other ways used, it does not occur any more frequently than some of the others. The only form we have instanced just once in this connection is an por uenir (Doc. ling., 180, 5). All this goes to show that in the early history of the Spanish language the formula cantare habeo was far from being the only accepted future and lends support to the contention that the regular Romance future and conditional is a literary development.

So then, we find instances of auer a and auer de plus infinitive used to express a simple future:

auer a

aquellos que han a uenir depues de uos (Doc. ling., 51, 8-9)

todos los otros que an a regnar en Castilla ffatal dia de la fin (Doc. ling., 102, 25)

los qui agora son e los che an aseer (Doc. ling., 170, 3)

tu eres mi debdor et as a auer gualardon segund lo merecieres (Cron., 142b29)

todas quantas cosas auemos nos oy a dezir contra uos, todas seran de los uuestros libros (Cron., 189b10)

cunnado, pues que lo a fazer auedes,¹ espediduos (Cron., 435b8)

as a dexar este mundo et yrte a la vida que non a fin, et esto sera de oy en treynta dias (Cron., 633b37-38)

en los postremeros dias de mi vida estoy como non he a beuir mas de estos treynta dias (Cron., 634a39-40)

et pues tan grant poder trahe de moros et yo he tan ayna a finar, vosotros non le podredes defender Valençia (Cron., 634b8)

auer de

ninguna cosa non les he nunq[ua] de demandar nin jo nin omne de mio linnage (Doc. ling., 31, 9)

los presentes olos que an de uenir (Doc. ling., 106, 24)

los que son an de seer (Doc. ling., 214, 27)

¿quien e quien son los que han de yr?² (Exo., X:8)

¹See p. 70, note 1.

²See p. 55, note 1.

treynta annos, que es edat complida pora auer ell omne
todo el seso complido que a dauer (Cron., 113b7)

"¿Que es Dios?", dixo ell emperador. E Segundo escriuió:
"voluntad que nunqua a de morir . . ." (Cron., 146b44)

priso muerte por nos, et liuro nos por ella de la muerte
que a de durar por siempre (Cron., 191b40-41)

et si, por los nuestros malos pecados, al nos a de con-
tescer, nunca dalli adelante nos auedes de uer biuos
nin muertos (Cron., 625a1)

Both auer a and auer de are used as a prophetic future:

auer a

esto digo yo a ti porque nos non podremos librar del poder
del Çid que nos a de astragar con poder de guerra, et au-
mos a seer en su poder nos et tu (Cron., 582b6)

auer de

el mayor de Faraon que se ha de asentar en su silla¹
(Exo., XI:5)

bien se que e de seer ferido de palo o de porra (Cron.,
150b3-4)

nunqua an ende de salir fasta en el dia del juyzio (Cron.,
271b48)

sin falla te digo: este a de ser sennor de Toledo (Cron.,
504b21)

aquel que se a de asentar en este escanno, mas val que
uos nin que todo el nuestro linage (Cron., 616b2-3)

roguemos a Dios por ella que la guarde por luengos tien-
pos yl de a uer las cosas que an de venir (Cron., 735a30)

It occurs also with a deliberative force, though in this
usage we found no examples of auer a plus infinitive:

auer de

¿sy vno que viene para morar ha de judgar juyzio? (Gen.,
XIX:9)

¿sy por que eres mi hermano me has de seruir de balde?
(Gen., XXIX:15)

¿si avemos de venir yo e tu madre e tus hermanos a omi-
llar a ty, a tierra? (Gen., XXXVII:10)

pues ¿barba mesada, commo ha de fazer escarnio de la que

¹See p. 55, note 2.

siempre fue onrrada et temida? (Cron., 622a23-24)

Since auer a and auer de express a future, it is to be expected that they also express the conditional in its function as a past or imperfect future. This is precisely what our investigation shows. We found plenty of instances of the conditional as a past future; only one instance in which it is a real conditional, a potential. This, too, is the development Thielmann observed in cantare habebam. After losing its force of necessity, it became first a past future and only later a potential.¹

Auer a and auer de occur quite frequently as a past future:

auer a

diziamos que auiamos ataiar la penna (Doc. ling., 61, 8)

deffendieron las eglesias ⁊ les dieron muchas ffranquezas, por que aquellos que las auien aseruir mas ondrada mientre ⁊ mas sin embargo pudiesen fazer seruitio a Dios (Doc. ling., 284, 17)

Espan no auie fiijo ni fija que heredasse lo suyo sino aquella, e uiniengela pedir reyes y altos omnes dotras tierras, lo uno por ques era ella muy fermosa e muy sesuda, lo al por ques auie afincar el regno a ella (Cron., 11b20)

mandaron fazer una escalera muy grand et muy alta, et parar la arrimada a la puerta por o ell auie a entrar a la cibdat en su uenida (Cron., 91a37-38)

ellas eran las madres de los ninnos que auien a matar pora fenchir de sangre ell albuhera en que se bannase el por que sanasse (Cron., 184a13)

quando la [la espada] uio fue much alegre a marauilla, et touo que el auie a seer sennor de tod el mundo (Cron., 235a21)

ca bien cuydaua el infante don Sancho que auien a fazer duelo por el (Cron., 639b19-20)

ca oyeran dezir que non auien a fazer duelo por el Çid (Cron., 640a11)

los condes et los ricos omnes et los otros omnes buenos, ueyendo et seyendo ya ciertos, por los fisicos que gelo dizien, que daquela dolencia auie ell a finar de todo en todo (Cron., 644a24)

¹

Thielmann, p. 79.

vieron ante sy por o aiuen a pasar en el camino ssiete caualleros de moros (Cron., 751b31-32)

auer de

touieron que menguarien en sos fechos et en su lealtad si tan bien no lo quisiessen pora los que aiuen de uenir como pora si mismos o pora los otros que eran¹ en so tiempo (Cron., 3a7)

mostraron manera por que los [los saberes] sopiessen los que aiuen de uenir empos ellos (Cron., 3a14)

connoscieron las cosas que eran estonces, et buscando et et escodrinando con grand estudio, sopieron las que aiue de uenir (Cron., 3a18)

e el diol exiemplo de cuemo Jupiter yogo con Almena, et de muchas otras que parieron dios, et della otrossi que dios aiue de nascer (Cron., 113a15)

pensando mucho en el fecho de la batalla que aiue de auer, adormeciosse (Cron., 182a50)

pues que uio que los no podrie uencer de ninguna manera, ouo uerguenna de se partir de la cerca, et assaco que aiue de yr a otros fechos mas granados (Cron., 211a54)

enuio adelante dezir a los de la villa como se yua pora alla, et dezirles sus palabras de amor, et prometer que les farie mucho de bien et mucha mercet, et que sopiesen como aiue de albergar y acerca en una villa que dizien Sepa (Cron., 549a14)

mando a Uenito Perez . . . quel enderesçasse sus palacios pora la corte que aiue de començar otro dia (Cron., 615b30)

vino la noche ante del dia que aiue de seer la lid (Cron., 625a37)

In the prophetic sense of the past future we find auer, auer a, and auer de. Auer a and auer de are very frequent in this usage:

auer

dixoles lo que uiera et lo que oyera, et el dia et la ora sennaladamiente quando Coymbria aiue seer presa (Cron., 487b47)

adeuinaual el coraçon el pesar que aiue auer dellos (Cron., 625b3)

auer a

¹ See p. 76, note 1.

leyo en ellas que allí auie a seer poblada¹ la grand cibdat (Cron., 9a24)

entendio por so saber que allí auie a auer² una grand cibdat, mas que no la poblaria el (Cron., 13a38)

cuenta la estoria duna marauilla que acacio en Siguença en ante desto, por que los moradores de la uilla entendieron que auien a seer destruydos ellos e la cibdat (Cron., 17a35-36)

bien creo que ellas fizieron aquellas sennales por mostrarme qual auie a seer el mio fado (Cron., 41b38-39)

bien se mostro por uerdad la palabra que dixieran los sabios sobre la cabeça del cauallo que y fallaran, que aquel logar auie a seer siempre de grand guerra (Cron., 44b10)

fue sennal del crebanto que Roma e so imperio auien a tomar por las lides destes dos principes (Cron., 65a48)

dize que esto mostraua que Octauiano auie a seer³ muy poderoso en este mundo, et serie temudo por muy alto et muy claro en todo el cerco de la tierra, et que en su tiempo uernie aquel que fizo el sol et todo lo al et lo mantiene (Cron., 97b37)

aparecieron . . . tres soles . . . et fueronse allegando . . . fasta que se ayuntaron et se fizieron un cuerpo et un sol; et departen desto las estorias que daua a entender dos cosas: la una que ell imperio de Roma . . . se tornarie todo en un sennor, cuemo contescio . . . ; la otra cosa et mayor que esta es que auie a nacer⁴ Ihesu Cristo en tiempo deste emperador Octauiano, et que se mostrarie en el mundo la Trinidad (Cron., 98a4)

esto mostraua las grandes mortandades que Octauiano auie a fazer en los uandos (Cron., 98a14-15)

uio estar cabo si en una cuerda el buho mandadero de la muerte quel auie a uenir much ayna (Cron., 120b25-26)

dixol allí sant Esidro qual dia auie de finar et la ora en que ell alma se auie a partir de la su carne (Cron., 493b19)

auer de

dixo que el farie remembrança por que, quando uiniesse

¹ See p. 72, note 2.

² See p. 72, note 3.

³ See p. 73, note 2.

⁴ See p. 73, note 3.

aquel, que sopiesses el logar o auie de seer¹ la cibdat (Cron., 8b34)

adeuinaua muchas cosas de las que aiuen de seer (Cron., 12b50)

el dixo que si sopiessen lo que les auie de uenir, que no aiuen por que labrar (Cron., 13a7)

preguntaron le daquel templo si durarie por siempre o quanto serie el su tiempo; et el ydolo respondiöles que auie de durar² fasta que pariesse uirgen (Cron., 107a40)

otros departen que en Espanna auie de nacer un princep cristiano que serie sennor de tod el mundo, et ualdrie mas por el tod el linage de los omnes (Cron., 108b46)

preguntol Domiciano, que pues el sabia por la arte de las estrellas lo que auie de uenir, quel dixiesse que muerte morrie (Cron., 140b28)

los adeuinos cataron lo que auie de seer, et dixieron le que el cabdiello del otra parte morrie, et por la su muerte se apaziguaria aquella batalla (Cron., 234b47-48)

cato et asmo la concordancia de las estrellas et de las planetas sobre la era del nascimiento del ninno, e entendio por ellas que auie de seer aquel ninno omne mucho esforçado et alçado et poderoso en regno et en ley (Cron., 261b14)

prophetol muchas de las [cosas] que aiuen de uenir (Cron., 658b30)

We found one instance of auer de in the deliberative sense

auer de

¿sy como a puta se auia de fazer a nuestra hermana? (Gen., XXXIV:31)

There is one instance of auer a plus infinitive as a potential:

auer a

muchas uezes tiraua ante grand gente a alguna bestia, et dize: "¿quieredes quel ponga estas dos saetas en la ties-ta a manera de cuernos?"; et fazie lo assi, et espetaual ell una all un cabo et ell otra all otro, bien en aquellos logares mismos o los cuernos aurien a seer (Cron., 140a17)

¹ See p. 76, note 3.

² See p. 77, note 1.

FLECTIONAL AUXILIARY

There are cases in which auer, auer a, and auer de express neither necessity nor future time. In Berceo, Milagros de Nuestra Sennora (635) we meet an instance in which God is defined as el que el mundo todo ave de gobernar. One does not need to read a great deal of Berceo to find out that he does not intend to convey the idea that God is under obligation to rule the world, nor that He will at some unspecified time in the future do so. To Berceo God is a free agent, and He rules the world in the present just as He did in the past and will in the future. Consequently, ave de gobernar stands for gobierna.

Now if we refer back to Thielmann's study, we note that he, too, found some cases in which habere, in the construction habere plus infinitive, expressed neither necessity nor the future. He concluded that in such cases habere simply gave its mood, person, number, and tense to the dependent infinitive: habe[t] intrare = intrat; habet praecedere = praecedet; adimplere habuisset = adimpleret; and the imperfect subjunctive in Milanese cantaréss < cantare + habuisssem.¹ Similar to these is the case where habere stands in the future: qui sedent vel sedere habebunt, so that sedere habebunt = sedebunt. The way for this construction was paved by habere expressing necessity standing in the future indicative, the form that was used in the main clause. In the same way, we find incipere in the future plus an infinitive standing for the simple future of the dependent infinitive.²

Reference to a Latin grammar convinces one that in late, Medieval, and spoken Latin, the use of flectional auxiliaries was

¹See above, pp. 12-13.

²Thielmann, pp. 83-85, 87, & 199.

a frequent practice. It is evident, too, that more of them stand for the aorist function of the Latin perfect indicative than for any other tense. The perfect, being used both as a present perfect and an aorist, seems to have been particularly difficult for the spoken language. The difficulty was generally solved by preserving the Latin perfect for the aorist function, and using the present of habere plus a past participle for the present perfect. That this solution was not altogether satisfactory is evidenced by the fact that one finds various substitutes to express the aorist. The French, in their spoken language, are today back at the starting point, for their past indefinite is both a present perfect and an aorist.¹ In Asturias and Galicia the preterit is used in many instances where we might reasonably expect to find the perfect.² In the older languages, the preterit and the perfect were used without much discrimination. When one function of the Latin perfect was rendered by a compound form, it was rather strongly suggested that the other one should be expressed in a somewhat similar way. All this accounts for the fact that auer a and auer de, as flectional auxiliaries, are used most frequently for the preterit, and are, therefore, most generally accepted as such. It accounts, likewise, for the fact that in our study we find por fuerca far more frequently when the auxiliary is in the preterit than in any other tense. However, in spoken Latin and the early Romance languages, this confusion touches other tenses as well.

As early as Plautus, we find coepe plus infinitive for the perfect of the infinitive in its aorist function: coepe velle.

¹ Armstrong, Syntax of the French Verb, ed. 3, pp. 42-43, §39.

² Beinhauer, Spanische Umgangssprache, Berlin u. Bonn, 1930, p. 235, note 13.

For the same purpose, late Latin uses volui and potui plus infinitive. The perfect of malle plus infinitive is less frequent in this usage. Venantius Fortunatus used merui plus infinitive for the aorist of the infinitive. Theodosius uses visus sum = vidi. The cases of the perfect of solere plus infinitive in this usage are uncertain.¹ For the future, late Latin uses -urus sum, less seldom -urus ero, also -ndus sum, less frequently -ndus forem; the present or future of incipio plus infinitive; the present of posse, seldom the future, plus infinitive; the present of velle, less frequently the future, plus infinitive; the present of debere, seldom the future, plus infinitive; and the present, sometimes the future, of habere plus infinitive.² The imperfect of velle plus infinitive is used for the imperfect of the dependent infinitive.³ For the present indicative or subjunctive, late Latin often uses the present indicative or subjunctive respectively of some auxiliary plus an infinitive: habere possit = habeat. Posse is rather frequent in this construction.⁴ The use of the present participle plus a form of esse instead of the simple verb goes back to Old Latin: cupiens sum = cupio; potens es = potes. In late Latin the form of esse is often omitted, so that the conjunctions et, que, or ac plus a finite verb often stand right after the present participle: ille vero haec audiens misitque.⁵ To all these constructions Medieval Latin adds some form of facere plus infinitive used in place of a finite verb: aedificare facio (feci)

¹ Stolz-Schmalz, p. 561, §153, c.

² See above, p. 152, and Stolz-Schmalz, pp. 556-558, §150.

³ Stolz-Schmalz, p. 561, §153, c.

⁴ Stolz-Schmalz, p. 557, §150, d, & p. 561, §153, c.

⁵ Stolz-Schmalz, p. 565, §156, & pp. 605-606, §182. c; also Gougenheim, pp. 36-37.

= aedifico (aedificavi); recipere faciatis = recipiatis.¹ In medieval and spoken Latin, debere, posse, and velle occur not infrequently as flectional auxiliaries;² tempus est ut iam cogitare de patria debeamus;³ debeant accipi = accipiantur;⁴ Cautinum . . . indignum . . . qui sacerdotium debuisset adipisci, "Cautinus unworthy 'that he should' receive priesthood."⁵ For the present tense, we also find ausus est = audet; littera scripta est = scribitur.⁶ And in this connection, we have already referred to the fact that Medieval Latin makes constant use of a noun plus an appropriate verb where classical Latin would use just a verb to express the same idea.

It has been shown repeatedly that many of the constructions found in the Romance languages, though not familiar to the student of classical Latin, can be found in late, Medieval, and spoken Latin. In fact, the Romance languages per se have added very few new ones. Now a goodly number of the verbal periphrases found in late, Medieval, and spoken Latin have survived in the Romance languages. Some few of these periphrases have survived in all or practically all the Romance territory. Others survived in one or perhaps several of the Neo-Latin languages. For example, ire or andare plus a present participle being equivalent to the simple finite verb represented by the participle with the form of ire or andare indicating its mood, tense, person, and number

¹ Stolz-Schmalz, p. 565, §156; and Muller & Taylor, A Chrestomathy of Vulgar Latin, p. 69.

² Thielmann, p. 196.

³ Gregory of Tours, quoted from Clark & Game, Medieval and Late Latin Selections, Chicago, [1925], p. 20.

⁴ Grandgent, Latin vulgar, p. 95, §117.

⁵ Muller & Taylor, A Chrestomathy of Vulgar Latin, p. 69.

⁶ Stolz-Schmalz, p. 565, §156; and Gougenheim, pp. 36-37.

is a construction that is found in all the Romance languages.¹ In Latin we found esse plus a present participle in the same usage. This is a construction that has survived in all the older Romance languages except Rumanian.²

For French, Gougenheim points out that aler plus a present participle, that is, the present participle indicates the verb in question while aler points out its mood, tense, person, and number, is used as a flectional auxiliary. This is strikingly clear in cases where aler is used with the present participle of a verb denoting rest or cessation of motion: aler arestant; aler attendant. In the Quatre livres des Rois, Gougenheim shows that aler plus a present participle is used quite often to translate a simple Latin verb.³ Venir plus a present participle is used like aler plus a present participle. In the Quatre livres des Rois, the present participle currentem is translated by venir curant, and where St. Bernard wrote advolavit the translator uses uint . . . uolant.⁴ Etre plus a present participle is equivalent to the simple verb;⁵ so is être à plus infinitive: ils étaient à pecher quand J.-C. vint à eux. Il faut dire: ils pechaient quand⁶ Since the second half of the 16th century, être après plus infinitive or être après à (de) plus infinitive is equivalent to a simple finite verb.⁷ In present-day French, être en train de plus infinitive is likewise equivalent to a simple verb.⁸ In Old French,

¹Diez, p. 909.

²Meyer-Lübke, Gram., III, §327.

³Gougenheim, pp. 5, & 9-10.

⁴Gougenheim, pp. 16-19.

⁵Gougenheim, pp. 36-49.

⁶Gougenheim, pp. 50-56.

⁷Gougenheim, pp. 56-60.

⁸Gougenheim, pp. 64-65.

faire plus infinitive is frequently used as a flectional auxiliary;¹ devoir, savoir, and pouvoir plus infinitive show the same usage: je dois boire = je bois.² Lerch came across several instances of avoir à plus infinitive in which avoir was simply a flectional auxiliary.³

In Italian, Diez found instances where debere in the construction debere plus infinitive is untranslatable and consequently is simply a flectional auxiliary for the following infinitive.⁴ In Abruzzia, tenere ad plus infinitive has completely eliminated the simple verb: yi ten a ffa = je fais; te a nnengue = il neige; yi me tene a vvesti = je me vêtis.⁵ Modern Venetian shows facere plus infinitive equivalent to the simple verb, though in this usage it occurs only in the negative.⁶

In Old Provençal, dever is used frequently as a flectional auxiliary:

qui vol saviamen regnar,
obs l'es totz tems deia portar
una balanza en son corage.⁷

Ricchautz la pregava q'ella li degues far plazer d'amor.⁸ Likewise, anar plus infinitive is often practically equivalent to a simple verb. On the other hand, in Catalan the present tense of anar plus infinitive is a preterit of the infinitive, while in

¹ Gougenheim, pp. 335-338.

² Gougenheim, pp. 204-205, & 302-303.

³ Lerch, Die Verwendung des romanischen Futurums, etc., pp. 262 & 271.

⁴ Diez, p. 927, note 1.

⁵ Meyer-Lübke, Gram., III, §331.

⁶ Ibid., §327.

⁷ Carl Appel, Provençalische Chrestomathie, ed. 5, Leipzig, 1920, p. 165, No. 113, lines 53-55.

⁸ Ibid., p. 192, No. 123, d, line 4.

French it forms a future.¹

Coming now to Spanish, Diez remarks that it surpasses all other Romance languages in the number of uses it makes of the infinitive.² In this connection, he found some periphrases that are equivalent to a simple verb: fuestes entender = entendisteis; las manos fue a levantar = levantó.³ Echar de ver is practically the same as ver by itself.⁴ Lanchetas noticed cases in Berceo where ir plus a present participle is nothing more than the simple verb: fue perdiendo = perdió. He also instanced cases of querer used simply as a flectional auxiliary: quisiesse dar = diesse. The same holds for curiar and other verbs of willing.⁵ In the Poema de Mio Cid, Menéndez Pidal finds:

tornos a alegrar = se alegró
tornan de castigar = castigan
tornos de sonrisar = se sonrió
começos de pagar = se pagó or se alegró
tomos a marauillar = se maravilló
nos faz juntar = júntanos
fizo enbiar = envió
enbiar mandaua = enbía
quitar lo mandaua = lo quita
mandólo vedar = lo vedó
se van omillar = se humillan
vay[a]mos caualgar = cavalguemos
vayades passar = passades
pienssan se de armar = se aperciben a armarse or se arman

Querer plus infinitive is sometimes almost a useless periphrasis. Along with querer go gradar, deuer, poder, saber, osar, treverse, dexar, and vedar.⁶ Beardsley, however, takes exception to these interpretations, and, as for vay[a]mos caualgar, states that vaya-

¹Meyer-Lübke, Gram., III, §324; and Leo Spitzer, Aufsätze zur romanischen Syntax und Stilistik, Halle a. S., 1918, pp. 177-178, footnote.

²Diez, p. 920.

³Diez, pp. 930 & 937.

⁴Diez, p. 934.

⁵Lanchetas, pp. 932-933.

⁶Cantar de Mio Cid, ed. Menéndez Pidal, I, pp. 349-350, §160, 1-3, & p. 352, §161, 2-3.

mos gives "an emphasis, a force, an inception to the action that is quite lost in the simple imperative."¹ Tarr corroborates him.² But it must be remembered that we are here dealing with poetry, and poets often resort to various devices to fit the meter.³ Further, it is rather difficult to study emphasis from the printed page. And the imperative is so obviously inceptive that it would prove difficult to show sufficient justification for resorting to some sort of verbal locution to bring it out. Larsen found that the preterit of querer plus infinitive very often stands for the preterit of the dependent infinitive.⁴ In the Libro de Apolonio, Marden found cases where the preterit of ser plus a past participle is equivalent to a preterit in the active: fuy nascido = nací, and fuste venido = viniste.⁵ The Spanish Grail Fragments show uviar plus infinitive quite frequently as equivalent to a finite verb. In this connection, Pietsch makes the very interesting observation that the scribes frequently confuse uviar with auer.⁶

Spaulding brings forward cases of auxiliaries plus a present participle that are equivalent to the simple verb. He finds examples of ir and andar plus a present participle in the Libro de buen amor, the Conde Lucanor, and the Mágico prodigioso so used. A very striking one is: id perdiendo cuidado = pierda (sic) cuidado, found in the Libro de buen amor, 868b. He points out also

¹Beardsley, pp. 76-77.

²MLN, XXXVIII (1923), 107.

³Brunot, Histoire de la langue française, I, p. 470.

⁴Larsen, pp. 58-60.

⁵Libro de Apolonio, ed. Marden, II, 18. These forms are, apparently, just a confusion of the use of the preterit and perfect. Until the seventeenth century, ser was the auxiliary of intransitive and reflexive verbs in the formation of the compound tenses (Menéndez Pidal, Antología de prosistas castellanos, Madrid, 1917, p. 34, note 2.

⁶Spanish Grail Fragments, ed. Pietsch, II, p. 145.

that the makers of the Diccionario de autoridades, s. v. estar make the following statement:

estar es uno de los verbos auxiliares más frecuentes de nuestro Castellano y junto con el romance de otro verbo no le añade significación sino solo sirve para conjugarle: como estar leyendo, estar escribiendo vale lo mismo que leer y que escribir.

The progressive forms are particularly frequent in Santa Teresa and Fernán Caballero. For the most part, they are not progressive at all, but simply serve to make the language more colloquial, more familiar.¹

We have already called attention to the fact that in Catalan the present of anar plus infinitive is equivalent to a preterit. Bernardo Alemany Selfa shows that the same is true in Valencian, and that it was a common construction in Old Spanish. He quotes four verses from the Poema del Cid, 399-402:

Passo por Alcobiella que de Castiella fin es ya;
La calçada de Quinea yva la tras passar,
Sobre Navas de Palos el Dueró va pasar
A la Figueruela myo Cid yva posar

where yva tras passar = passó; va pasar = pasó; and yva posar = posó, all of them equivalent to a preterit and in parallel construction with the preterit in verse 399. This type of verbal periphrasis is as old as Homer.²

In the Libro de buen amor, José María Aguado instanced the following verbal periphrases:

fue venir = vino
fueron açotar = azotaron
fue venido = vino

¹Spaulding, The History and Syntax of the Progressive Constructions in Spanish, pp. 256-258.

²Bernardo Alemany Selfa, "Una perífrasis homérica que hoy tiene exacta equivalencia en valenciano y en catalán, y la tuvo también en el castellano antiguo," Estudios eruditos in memoriam de Adolfo Bonilla y San Martín, I, Madrid, 1927, pp. 631-638. This study is an excellent source for further examples of the types of verbal periphrases we have discussed above.

se lo fue a comer = se lo comió
 es a venir = viene, or better vendrá
 te non cuidas de fartar = no te hartas
 los facés ençender = los enciendes o quemas
 traia vendiendo = vendía.¹

In the Primera Crónica General one meets flectional auxiliaries on nearly every page. The following are a few typical cases:

Segundo . . . puso en su coraçon de numqua iamas fablar en toda su uida. Et . . . ell emperador Adriano . . . enuio por el, et fizo lo uenir ante si, et saludo lo ell emperador. Et Segundo callo, et nol quiso fablar [= fablo] ninguna cosa. E Adriano dixol: "fabla, philosopho, et aprendemos algo de ti." Mas por que Segundo non quiso fablar [= fablo], mando llamar [= llamo] uno de sus guardas que habia nombre Tirpon, et dixol: "aqueste que no quiere fablar [= fabla] all emperador, no queremos que uiua; lieua lo contigo et dal muchas penas fasta que muera." Et en diziendo esto, llamo aparte a la guarda, et dixol: "vel conseiando [= conseia] por el camino que fable et no quiera morir [= muera]; et si uieres que te cree, et te respondiere, descabeça lo luego; et si te no quisiere fablar [= fablare] por miedo de muerte, tornalo a mi." E leuolo entonce² la guarda al logar o tormentauan los omnes, et dixol: "Segundo, porque morras por callar et no quieres fablar et uenir [= fablas et uiues]?" E el philosopho no touo en nada su conseio, et despreciando la uida, esperaba callando la muerte. E desque llegaron al logar o auien de ir, dixol la guarda: "tiende la ceruiz;" et el tendiola et no quiso fablar³ [= fablo] (146a44-146b18)

Sennor, ruegote et pidote por mercet que me quieras tu ayudar [= ayudes] en tal manera por que pueda yo Castiella sacar [= saque] desta premia (409b36-38)

el conde Lombardo quando fue fuera del castiello non quiso echar [= echo] en eluido al conde Fernand Gonzalez (412b2)

rueguos por la fe que deuedes a Dios, que uayades a el et quel conortedes et quel non querades desamparar [= desamparedes] (413a13)

et non querades perder [= perdades] por uuestra culpa tal duenna como yo sô (413b4)

¹José María Aguado, Glosario sobre Juan Ruiz, pp. 71-72.

²We have deleted a comma after entonce.

³This no quiso fablar, as well as the previous ones, really stands for quiso no fablar e no fablo, and is, therefore, not the exact equivalent of no fablo, which assumes the exercise of the will but does not mention it, whereas no quiso fablar does. It is comparable to English 'He did not choose to speak,' meaning 'He chose not to speak and did not speak;' in other words, 'He refused to speak.'

ruegouos que punnedes de complirlo, et non lo querades meter [= metades] en oluido, ca yo non uos mintre de quanto uos he dicho si uos esto querades complir et fazer [= complides et fazedes] (413b17 & 19)

et quando ouieron a mouer de Molina, el rey Abencanon, que era sennor de Molina, nunca se quise partir [= partio] dellas, faziendoles mucha onrra, fasta que fueron en Valencia en casa de su padre (614b16)

et destas palabras et de otras tantas et tan buenas le sopo la reyna donna Sancha dezir [= dixo], et tantol sopo adulcear et falagar [= adulceo et falago], quel ouo a prometer que yrie sobrellos (492b13-15)

et quando mostro los bienes que por ello uernien en las yentes et los males que por y se desuiarien, et sobresso tantol sopo falagar [= falago] de sus palabras et adulcearle [= adulceo] que gelo ouo de otorgar et que se farie el casamiento (683a33-34)

et aun ouieran presa la cibdad a pocos de dias que yoguiessen sobrella, segund cuenta don Lucas de Tuy, sinon por las grandes aguas dell yuierno que huuiaron uenir [= uinieron] (445b45)

et tan rezia fue el espoloneada, que mataron de aquellas moras bien çiento, ante que se uiassen armar ni caualgar [= armassen ni caualgassen = hubiessen armado ni caualgado] (637b23-24)

los moros salien como solien, et pasaron la çelada; pero ante que la mucho uiassen pasar [= pasassen = hubiessen pasado], ouieronla a descobrir (753b25)

mas los moros ouieron a uentar la caua que les fazien; et ante que la huuiassen acabar [= acabassen = ouiesen acabado], huuiarongela ataiar et quebrantarla [= ataiarongela et quebrantarona] toda (762a39-40)

otra uez acaesçio que los caualleros de la hueste, que auien de guardar los herueros, que ouieron ya por qual razon o en que tardaron que non huuiaron salir [= salieron = auian salido] tan aora como deuieran (765a1)

et quando la [la maçana] metieron en la uilla non pudo caber [= cupo = cabia] por la puerta, et ouieron a tirar las puertas et a ensanchar la entrada (769a8)

sennor, dixo ella, esto faze fazer [= faze] el grand amor, ca esta es la cosa del mundo que mas tuelle a las duennas paur et uerguença de quantas cosas son; ca por los amigos tambien la mugier como el uaron oluida los padres et los parientes et a todas las cosas del mundo (413a28)

esta fue la razon porque esse rey don Fernando desa uez, segunt es dicho, ouo a yr por sy tan rebatadamente a la

frontera como fue; et esto conuino a sser [= fue]¹ por la muerte de don Aluar Perez, reçelando el danno que por auentura podrie venir (740a7)

ouieron los grand enuidia sos uezinos, e sobre todos los de Persia, de guisa que ouieron a uenir a guerrear [= guerrearon]² unos con otros (31b20)

agora dexamos aqui de fablar destas razones de los reys de Leon et de los condes de Castiella, et contaremos del comienço de los reys de Nauarra, ca por este logar auemos de uenir a contar [= contaremos] como ouo rey en Castiella primeramiente (467b19)

pues que los moros vieron que ninguna otra cosa non podian pasar de quanto ellos asmauan nin querien, saluo a lo que el rey don Fernando querie, pesandoles mucho, ouieronse accier a fazer [= hicieron]³ voluntad del rey (767a6-7).

Nebrija used querer as a flectional auxiliary:

salen algunas vezes [los nombres gentiles] en 'ego,' como de cristiano, 'cristianego'; de judio, 'judiego'; de Grecia, 'griego'; de Galizia, 'gallego'; ç assi quiso salir, de Arabia, 'aravigo,' sino que mudó el acento, ç la e en i.

For a recent one, we cite Fernán Caballero:

me quiere parecer--añadió Elvira con su suave voz--que va a llover pronto⁵

This summary of the widespread use of flectional auxiliaries is of necessity rather cursory. Thus far, the matter has not received much attention. To the best of our knowledge, French is the only Romance language that has received adequate treatment in this respect. But the materials at hand are amply sufficient to show that the use of flectional auxiliaries is a common practice, and that it is not an accidental development of the Latin languages, but an inherent characteristic of the Indo-European languages.

¹ See above, p. 91, note 1.

² See above, p. 88, note 2.

³ See above, p. 85, note 1.

⁴ Nebrija, Gramatica, ed. González-Llubera, p. 82.

⁵ Fernán Caballero, La Familia de Alvarada, ed. Hendrix & Hespelt, Boston, [1928], p. 20, lines 22-23.

Another point to be borne in mind here is the fact that the conjugation in Spanish, and for that matter in all the other Romance languages, is formed almost entirely by the use of auxiliaries. The entire passive voice is thus formed; so are the compound tenses, and the future and conditional. The so-called synthetic forms that survived in the indicative are the present, the imperfect, and the preterit; in the subjunctive the present, the imperfect, and the future. The reason for their being preserved intact almost certainly lies in the fact that they were so constantly used that there was little opportunity for anything to happen to them. In other words, then, the indicative and subjunctive had six synthetic tenses, but twenty-six that were formed by the use of an auxiliary plus a past participle. This does not count in the progressive forms which could occur in any mood and tense. Consequently, since so many tenses were formed by the use of an auxiliary, there would inevitably be a tendency to include all tenses in this sort of formation. The use of auxiliaries makes conjugation a very easy matter. All one needs to know is the conjugation of the auxiliaries, and the infinitive and the participles of other verbs. In all these formations, it is the auxiliary that shows the mood, the person, and the number of the compound form. The auxiliary also shows whether it is active or passive. The whole form is necessary to show the tense in question.

Very early in Old Spanish, one observes a rather general tendency for the auxiliary to precede the dependent infinitive or participle. As for the position of the auxiliary with respect to the past participle, in the Fuero de Aviles the auxiliary precedes about as often as it follows. But in the Poema del Cid the auxiliary in pre-position is already given preference. In the

thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, particularly in the Primera Crónica General, postposition of the auxiliary is exceptional. The beginning of a sentence or clause in prose, or of a verse or right after the caesura in poetry, is a special case. Nearly all the Romance languages exclude the auxiliary from this initial position. In the Poema del Cid, the auxiliary nowhere stands at the beginning of a verse or right after the caesura, unless it has two or more syllables. When we come to the Primera Crónica General, we note that the auxiliary frequently stands at the beginning of a clause or a sentence, though there are many other instances where the past participle stands at the beginning with the auxiliary following it. On the other hand, the tendency to put the past participle before the auxiliary is so strong that Berceo, possibly because it was done in the dialect he spoke, and all succeeding writers pay no regard to this usage, but regularly put the auxiliary at the beginning of a verse, a sentence, or clause, or right after the caesura.¹ This was possible because the auxiliary is really a tonic form,² and even in the Poema del Cid, seer and auer could stand at the beginning of a verse or after the caesura when they were not auxiliaries.³ Likewise, in auer a and auer de plus infinitive, the auxiliary regularly precedes the infinitive. The exceptions with the auxiliary in postposition are somewhat rare.

To sum up, then, bearing in mind that so large a portion of the Spanish conjugation is made up of compound forms and that early in the history of the language the auxiliary took pre-posi-

¹ Hanssen, Dos Problemas de sintaxis, pp. 422-424, §§14-15, and Gram., pp. 251-252, §606.

² Navarro Tomás, RFE, XII (1925), 347-351, & 374-375.

³ Hanssen, Gram., p. 252, §606.

tion in preference to postposition, it would be strongly suggested that the remaining synthetic forms should be conjugated in like manner, and that the form of flection should precede the form to be inflected. The future and conditional at times formed with the auxiliary habere in the future and conditional respectively showed how it could be done. Baist maintains that the formation of the future and conditional had some influence in the formation of the Old Spanish preterits sovo, crovo (creer), and possibly trovo < tribuit.¹ If this view is correct, it would be an easy step to forming any preterit with the preterit of habere plus the infinitive. This construction would later be replaced by the prepositional forms, habere ad and habere de plus infinitive. At any rate, once the way is shown for one synthetic tense form, it would be easy to apply the same principle to the remaining synthetic forms. Add to this the fact that Spanish is more given to the use of infinitives than any other Romance language, and that the use of flectional auxiliaries is a common and widespread practice, in fact, an inherent characteristic of the Indo-European languages, and that the flectional auxiliaries most commonly used are also modal auxiliaries or verbs, like uviar, that have become confused with them. In view of all these considerations, there can be nothing unusual in the fact that auer, auer a, and auer de plus infinitive, all three of them modal auxiliaries, appear also in the role of flectional auxiliaries.

Present Indicative

In this usage, then, we find auer a and auer de plus infinitive standing for the present indicative of the dependent infinitive:

¹ Baist, Grundriss der romanischen Philologie, I, ed. 2, p. 915.

auer a

esto se usa aun agora entre los moros et los iudios, que a aquellos que an a mantener los pueblos so el rey, que maguer que sean mañebos, llaman los uieios (Cron., 85a26-27)

aiuen ensangostadas las uenas et los logares por o an a yr las uiandas en los cuerpos (Cron., 134b10)

a las uezes anse a uencer los buenos por los malos (Cron., 397a8-9)

auer de

los terçeros olos que an de recabdar los diezmos (Doc. ling., 228, 12)

et sy ha de tomar Jacob muger de las fijas de Hed . . . ¿para que es a mí la vida? (Gen., XXVII:46)

uos digo uerdad que si el de morar a en Toledo, que se non fallara bien por esto que a fecho (Cron., 340a52)

mando a los que an de tomar los derechos de la villa que non tomen mas del diezmo (Cron., 589a15)

si, por los nuestros malos pecados, al nos a de contescer,¹ nunca dalli adelante nos auedes de ueer biuōs nin muertos (Cron., 624b48)

cierto seed que si el a de saber que uos tal cosa del dixiestes, que uos non podredes partir del sin vuestro danno (Cron., 763a12)

Imperfect Indicative

Auer, auer a, and auer de plus infinitive, with the auxiliary in the imperfect indicative, stand for the imperfect of the indicative:

auer

che iurasse sobre la quatuor euangelia que non aijen dere ectura sobre a chel molino de moleo auer ninguno (Doc. ling., 80, 10)

auer a

soltaron la jura e el moleo atoda la dere ectura que aiuen ad auer en aquel molino (Doc. ling., 80, 14)

aquellos que lo aiuan auer por el rey (Doc. ling., 141, 55)
yua con ella ell obispo de Tiro, que aiue el templo de

¹See below, p. 182.

Jupiter a guardar (Cron., 34b17)

Garçi Perez de Vargas, et otro cauallero que auie a yr con ellos, detouieronse en el real (Cron., 751b29)

auer de

en el pleyto que es oauie de ser entre labbat 7 el conuen- to (Doc. ling., 127, 9)

aquellos que lo auien de rrecabdar por el (Doc. ling., 141, 134)

murio y Memio, so cunnado, marido de su hermana que auie de ueer todos los derechos del imperio (Cron., 56a41)

llamauan presides a los que auien de ueer las prouincias et las tierras (Cron., 87b3)

Estilico el conde, que auie de deffender et de gouernar ell imperio de occidente so los emperadores (Cron., 205b5-6)

los godos dalli adelant por que ueyen al so rey et assi mismos muy bien aconsejados daquel Dicineo, lo que el les consejaua et tenie por bien aquello iudgauan por cosa prouechosa et de salut et de sanctidat en las cosas que ellos auien de fazer (Cron., 222a12)

At times, this imperfect is used to express customary ac-
tion:

auer a

et quando auien a fazer conceillo eran llamados por sus nombres (Num., XVI:2)

era costumbre entre los reyes que quando alguna cosa dauan cuemo por iuyzio de ley, que aquello auien a fazer e non se tirar dello por ninguna manera (Cron., 37b50-51)

era tan sofridor de lazerio et tan acucioso en sus fechos, que quando auie a andar camino, a los mandaderos que enui-
aua adelante a todos los passaua, et el llegaua primero (Cron., 93a40)

los logares en que auie a cenar, todos eran cubiertos de taulas de marfil (Cron., 123b27-28)

por desonra del et de tod ell imperio de Roma, cada que auie a caualgar el rey de Persia, fincaua el cercal caua-
llo las manos en tierra, et ponie el rey el pie sobre sus espaldas, et alçauase el (Cron., 167b35)

cada que llegauan a la posada, assy lo tomauan en su sie-
lla et lo ponien en aquel caualfuste que Gil Diaz fiziera; et quando auien a caualgar, ponienle en su caualllo (Cron., 639a40-41)

auer de

este Vlid era omne de grand sentido et sabie muy bien guisar sus huestes quando las auie de sacar, et ordenar sus azes (Cron., 305b44)

assi crescio alli la fambre, que la hueste con premia de la mingua de la uienda ouieron a comer carne en los dias que non deulen nin lo auien de fazer¹ segund nuestra ley (Cron., 706b17)

We found several instances of auer de plus infinitive in the past descriptive function of the imperfect as well as of auer a:

auer a

era omne que tenie muy bien su ley, et en palabra que prometiesse nunca auie a mentir; et este era el mas amigo de amigo que en el mundo auie; et quando auie a ser enemigo, era el mas mortal que en el mundo auie (Cron., 629b15 & 17)

auer de

et aun esto que lo demos a la edad porque era pequenno, assi es verdad, mas sin la edad quel fazie sin enoyo, auie de su natura de seer tan bueno, et segund las bondades del rey don Sancho su padre que son dichas, recudie el a la natura buena (Cron., 671a17-18)

Sometimes this imperfect expresses a natural or logical consequence:

auer a

como fuera la sed de muchos dias et trayen los cuerpos secos, assi se detenien en el beuer, que non respirauan por tal de fartarse, que auien a caer en tierra (Cron., 76b40)

auer de

entraua el diablo en ell a las uezes et faziel dezir algunas cosas daquellas que auien de uenir, e por esta manera le auien de creer todas las yentes de lo que les dizie (Cron., 266a35)

Preterit

Auer, auer a, and auer de plus infinitive as a flectional auxiliary stands most frequently for the preterit. The following are typical examples:

auer

¹ See p. 83, note 1.

si tu as en ti seso e amar ouiste¹ algun cauallero alguna
sazon, mucho mas deues amar a este (Cron., 412b35, MS T)

auer a

et toto qua[n]tum abuimus de ereditas medietate tiui con-
cedo, proque accepimus de uouis jn pretjo .C. solidos de
ariento que lexauit a tiui Feles Petrizi de fidiatura que-
mentisti de tuo filo Migael Feles, et ouisti me a dare cen-
tu solidos de ariento, projnde posuisti jstas ereditas in
cartula que a tiue et annouis bene conplacuit (Documentos
de tierra de León, 30)

ouiemos nos a encloir dentro enla casa (Doc. ling., 28,60)

por esto oujemos nos, el prior ⁊ el conuentu sobre dicho,
auerellar a nuestro sennor el obispo (Doc. ling., 64,14-15)

lo que ffinco en los cogedores o en los que lo ouieron a
recabdar (Doc. ling., 141, 63)

apartada ouo a seer Maria (Num., XII:15)

a cabo de tiempo tremio aquella uilla tan fieramientre,
que los que y morauan cuydaron seer muertos, e por end
ouieron la a dexar, e fueron buscar o poblassen (Cron.,
31a42)

e cuemo quier que bien andantes fuessen en las demas cosas,
en cabo ouieron a seer mal andantes quando guerrearon con
los romanos (Cron., 44b12-13)

lo uno por los grandes dannos que auien ya fechos, lo al
por que se querien tornar a ellos muchas tierras et alçar
se con ellos contra los romanos por las premias et los
males que les fazien, ouieron lo a saber en Roma (Cron.,
58a46)

a Silano, so suegro, fizo tanto que se ouo a degollar con
una nauaia et a matar (Cron., 116b50-51)

aquella fue la ochaua depues de la de Nero; et fue tan
fuerte et tan esquiuu, que por la grand crueldat della
ouo el Nuestro Sennor Ihesu a tomar grand uengança (Cron.,
167a42-43)

ataron le al cuello una muela de braço, et echaron lo de
la puente en el rio, et ando grand pieça sobrel agua fa-
blando con los que le estauan catando; e al cabo, por que
se no espantassen los otros cristianos por que murie tan
tarde, ouo a pedir mercet a Nuestro Sennor quel dexasse
yr a fondon, et ganclo del muy adur (Cron., 181b27)

porque los berberis non sabien estar quedos que non robas-
sen et non destruyessen et fiziessen todo mal en la tierra
assi como solien, los moradores de la çibdad, non lo po-
diendo ya sofrir, ouieronse ende a querellar (Cron., 464
a51-52)

¹See p. 85, note 2.

auer de

aqueellos quel ouieron de veer por nos (Doc. ling., 141, 40-41)

pero entendiendo quel conseiauan bien, ouolo de fazer (Cron., 25a49)

tanto la rogaron yl pidieron mercet, porque ouo de fincar (Cron., 37a32)

fue assi que ouo de ser rey depues de Agelmundo (Cron., 242b36)

cuenta la estoria que quando a este rey Bamba quisieron alcar rey, que lo non quiso el consentir de seerlo; mas pero al cabo ouo de otorgar lo con miedo et menazas quel fizieron (Cron., 284a6)

mas por que era omne piadoso, tomol duelo dellos et ouo lo de fazer (Cron., 291a22)

faziendo Abdelmelic rey de Cordoua mucho mal a las yentes cristianas, ouo Nuestro Sennor Dios de oyr las sus oraciones (Cron., 334a15-16)

ellos matandolos desta guisa, vno querie entrar, et ouo de oler el bafo de la sangre (Cron., 352a38)

dio el moro a don Gustio Gonçalez un tan grand golpe de la espada por somo del capiello, quel taio el capiello et el almofar et la cofia, de guisa quel ouo de llegar el golpe fasta los oios (Cron., 404a14)

aueno a pocos de dias que don Gonçalo yaziendo en aquella prision, et aquella mora siruiendol, que ouieron de entender en si et amarse ell uno al otro, de manera que don Gonçalo ouo de fazer un fijo en ella (Cron., 435b40-42)

el rey quando uio que con tal recabdo ge lo dizie, ouole de creer (Cron., 475a18-19)

Per Arias estonces con el grand dolor de la ferida, et por la sangre quel corrie por los oios, ouo de abraçar¹ la ceruiz del cauallo (Cron., 517a16)

Very frequently this preterit expresses a natural or logical consequence:

auer a

fue ferido en el oio, de guisa que depues por la lazeria que leuo en el mont Apennino del grand frio e del mucho uelar quel ouo a perder (Cron., 17b47)

¹ See p. 94, note 2.

ouieron los grand emuidia sos uezinos, e sobre todos los de Persia, de guisa que ouieron a uenir a guerrear¹ unos con otros (Cron., 31b20)

e la discordia e la mal querencia començada dantes entre-
llos et encubierta fasta allí, daquí se començo a descubrir,
porque ouieron despues a lidiar et a contecer entrellos
cuemo contaremos adelant (Cron., 57527)

mas descubrio lo la fedor, de guisa que ouieron a catar
aquellos que lo trayen, et fallaron lo muerto et podrido
(Cron., 174a11)

tan grand fue la yent que, dell uso et de la pesadura de
los omnes et de las bestias, ouo la puent a fallecer en
medio, et caer (Cron., 217a8-9)

feriron le el caualllo de guisa que ouo a caer, et cayo
el con el (Cron., 220b28)

diol el conde tal golpe de la lança quel falso el escudo
et las otras guarnizones, et entrol la cuchiella por la
carne yaquanto. Et ouo el rey por fuerça a caer del cau-
allo a tierra (Cron., 416a35)

tantol sopo adúlcear et falagar, quel ouo a prometer que
yrie sobrellos (Cron., 492b15)

el Çid priso vn rico omne de los moros que era alcaýat de
Alcala, cerca Torre Alua, et dieronle grandes penas, fasta
que ouo a pleytear por X mill marauedis (Cron., 569b14-15)

conbatio la torre muy de rrezio con muchos ballesteros
que nunca quedauan de dia nin de noche, et la torre non
se pudo defender et ouola a ganar (Cron., 682a38, variant)

en llegando allí, enfermo de la fiebre aguda; et fue tan
affincada aquella fiebre, et tanto se le affinco et tan
a ora fue, que allí ouo a ffincar et finar della (Cron.,
707b47)

enfermo y de grieue enfermedat, tanto que ouo ende a morir
(Cron., 719b31)

auer de

por el grand poder que tenie, ouol de uencer allí o se
ayuntaron (Cron., 306b44)

non quisieron sofrir a Ysca aquella nemiga tan grand,
e ouieron de auer por esto mui grand fazienda unos con
otros (Cron., 335a23)

mas aquí trauaron con ell el emperador et sus fijos que
fuesse con ellos a Toledo, et tantol rogaron porque lo
ouo de fazer (Cron., 657b13)

¹ See p. 88, note 2.

tantol sopo falagar de sus palabras et aduľgearle, que
gelo ouo de otorgar et que se farie el casamiento (Cron.,
683a34-35)

We noted one instance of this usage of the preterit where
it is equivalent to the imperfect in its function as a past de-
scriptive:

auer de

los principes romanos ouieron siempre esto de seer los
unos muy cobdiciosos de auer el sennorio mas que otra
cosa, los otros cobdiciar ell auer, otros y auie que lo
querien todo (Cron., 57b8-10)

Future Indicative

Auer a and auer de plus infinitive with the auxiliary in
the future and standing for the future is not a frequent construc-
tion:

auer a

por que non uengades despues a otras contiendas njn auere-
des a jurar njn caer en otras sentencias¹(Doc. ling., 228, 38)

sepas que si non quisieres guarescer al conde de muerte,
que se aura por tu culpa a perder toda Castiella (Cron.,
412b18)

We found one case of auer a in this construction express-
ing probability:

auer a

semeiame que auras a buscar otro amor nueuo et otra fe
que des a la que amares, quel fallezcas depues assi cuemo
a mi fallecist (Cron., 40a29)

Conditional

This construction with auer in the conditional is also
rather infrequent. We found just a few cases of it with auer de
plus infinitive:

Past Future

auer de

entendieron que non podrien contender con el, que destroy-

¹ See above, p. 43, note 1.

dos non fuessen, por ques aurie de perder la tierra
(Cron., 25a39-40)

bien cuedauan que luego aurie de seer astragada et confon-
dida la cibdad (Cron., 288a18-19)

desi por lo que auie de seer que con la uara de Dios, es-
to es la su sanna, aurie el de ferir todos los pueblos de
Espanna, ayudaua¹ Dios en todos sus fechos (Cron., 305b47)

este era omne anuiso et entendio bien a lo que aurie de
venir (Cron., 568b1)

Present Subjunctive

This is, likewise, a rare construction:

auer de

si Dios quisiere que en todo en todo te ayas de perder des-
ta uez, sera por los tus grandes pecados (Cron., 576b3-4)

Imperfect Subjunctive, -ra Form

As an imperfect subjunctive, this construction is rare:

auer a

el conde Lombardo quando fue fuera del castiello non
quiso echar en oluido al conde Fernand Gonçalez et fues-
se luego pora la infante donna Sancha, aquella de quien
el conde ouiera a ser¹ marido et por quien el era preso
(Cron., 412b5)

As a pluperfect subjunctive, it occurs more frequently:

auer

mulier quoque que potionem [bebere] acceperit, quantos
quumque concupere uel parere debuerat [abierat] tantorum
homicidiorum ream se esse [sedere] cognoscat (Glosas
Silenses, 16)

auer a

e llego a tanto el fecho del et de Ponpeyo, por que si
ellos se uoluessen, que ouiera a seer destroyda² Roma
(Cron., 62a24-25)

alcançolo el maestre bien acerca del castiello, et matol
y nueue caualleros et a el derribo del cauallo, et ouiera-
lo a prender³ saluo por el poder de la gente quel acorrio

¹ See p. 100, note 3.

² See p. 100, note 2.

³ See p. 100, note 1.

de todas partes (Cron., 754a1)

auer de

et ouieranse y de matar¹ todos sinon por el rey don Sancho que salio a ellos et departiolos (Cron., 417b27-28)

There are a few instances where it is equivalent to a preterit:

auer de

crebanto ell emperador Justiniano las pazes et las treguas que quie puestas con los bulgaros, et lidio con ellos, et fue uençudo et ouiera el y de prender muert (Cron., 304a29-30)

el conde et la infant, estando assi ascondudos en aquel monte, ouieranse de uer una ora en grand periglo (Cron., 413b43)

Imperfect Subjunctive, -se Form

As an imperfect subjunctive, this construction is more frequent than the -ra form:

auer a

mas algunos omnes cuerdos que auie y, buscaron carrera porque no ouiessem a uenir a buelta (Cron., 32a43)

mando a otros sos priuados en grand poridat, que al mudar de los sacos dun nauio en otro, que de guisa los diessen a los omnes del rey por que no los pudiessen tener, e ouiessem a caer en la mar (Cron., 34a32)

desta manera se libro Dido de la companna del rey so hermano, faziendo les creyent que ell arena era auer, e metiendoles miedo por que se ouiessem a foyr e a partir de so companna (Cron., 34b12-13)

era este rey don Fernando comunal a todos los omnes, et assi les era allegre et iogoso como si fuesse omne que por ello ouiesse a ueuir (Cron., 672b30)

auer de

por refazer toda mission que la ecclesia ouies de fazer en emperando o siguiendo pleyto (Doc. ling., 255, 25)

desdel primer anno dell imperio de Tiberio Cesar fastal quinzeno no fallamos que ouiesse el de fazer ningunos fechos granados (Cron., 112a47-48)

passaron los moros con todas sus compannas el rio que dizen

¹See p. 101, note 3.

Garona, assi como si ellos ouiessen de morar en Ffrancia (Cron., 327b21)

mas los alaraues enuiaronlo dezir a Ysca amiramomellin, et que enuiasse y alguno por qui ouiessen de catar (Cron., 329a18)

deffendio que tod aquel clerigo que la sancta eglefia de Cristo ouiesse de seruir et ministrar, que non casasse nin touiesse mugier consigo (Cron., 337b52-53)

a este don Ordonno diera el rey don Alffonso, so padre, Gallizia por tierra que la ouiesse el de uer et de guar-
dar (Cron., 383a53)

el rey quando esto oyo, enuio sus mandaderos a don Xemeno obispo de Astorga, a quien el comendara la eglefia de Ouiedo que la ouiesse de uer (Cron., 450b52)

As a pluperfect subjunctive, it is a rare construction:

auer

tan rezia fue el espoloneada, que mataron de aquellas moras bien giento, ante que se ouiesen¹ armar ni caualgar (Cron., 637b23-24, MS O)

Future Subjunctive

Clear cases of this construction do not occur very often:

auer a

si cosa fuere que el terçio se ouiere a tornar enel estado que estaua primero (Doc. ling., 8, 37)

aquellos que lo mio ouieren a heredar (Doc. ling., 154, 10)

uos desafiamos por el Çid et por nos et por todos aquellos que la su carrera ouieren a tener (Cron., 610a23-24)

auer de

que la ayades uos los sobredichos esta dicha vinna, u los que lo uuestro ouieren de heredar (Doc. ling., 126, 12)

todaquelos que alguna ren ouieren de ueher por el (Doc. ling., 278, 39)

si por auentura don Rodrigo oujere de uender Torres, . . . ques entregue (Doc. ling., 281, 20)

et uos que contengades el clerigo capellan u los cleri-
çones que ouieren de seruir la eglefia (Doc. ling., 319, 20)

quando ouieren de entrar en el tabernaculo, se lauen (Exo., XXX:20)

¹See p. 98, note 1.

The foregoing survey shows that as flectional auxiliaries, auer a and auer de occur in all the so-called synthetic tense forms. This, to be sure, includes ouiera, for in spite of the fact that it often has its original force of a pluperfect, it is a synthetic form. We do not find these forms as a flectional auxiliary where Old Spanish had only a compound form. As for the future and conditional, Cornu considers that the agglutination between infinitive and auxiliary is completed. When the agglutination is completed, these, too, are once more synthetic forms. And since we find auer a and auer de plus infinitive as a flectional auxiliary only in the synthetic tense forms, we conclude that this usage is simply a carry-over into these forms of the general habit of forming tenses by the use of an auxiliary. And this is not as far-fetched a conclusion as it may appear, for in Abruzzia tener de plus infinitive is actually used to form the entire conjugation.

IMMINENCE

To express this idea Spanish has querer plus infinitive, estar para plus infinitive, and por (de) poco plus a verb in the mood and tense demanded by the laws of syntax. Por (de) poco plus verb expresses only the action that was imminent, that almost took place, but was averted in the nick of time. In modern Spanish, the verb is usually in the present, regardless of the time involved:

me tiró un tiesto que por poco me aplasta = der mich beinahe getötet hätte.¹

¹Beinhauer, *Spanische Umgangssprache*, p. 208. This usage of the present is analogous to the contrary-to-fact condition which in emphatic familiar speech often stands in the present indicative: si da un paso más, se precipita = si diese (diera) or hubiese (hubiera) dado un paso más, se precipitara (precipitaría) or hubiera (habría) precipitado. Whether this contrary-to-fact condition is present or past must be inferred from the context (see Bello-Cuervo, p. 189, §717, & nota 98).

This construction, like querer and estar para plus infinitive, is also found in Old Spanish:

e ovo ende atal pesar que a pocas oviera de morir.¹

The clause que a pocas oviera de morir can mean only 'that he almost died.' But in still earlier Spanish, auer a and auer de in this sense do not use a pocas, which means that they were clearly understood without it. This being the case, this usage must not have been particularly rare or unusual.

Habere plus infinitive had this sense in Latin, and despite the fact that Thielmann says that it was finally lost, Rohlfs found it in Lower Italian and in Leonese.² Consequently, there is nothing unusual about its coming up in Spanish. And since it is found in the early Latin translations of the Bible, Rohlfs' attempt to explain it as a development of the preterit of habere plus infinitive is unnecessary. In view of the fact that in French we find devoir and vouloir so used,³ and in Spanish querer, this is just another development of the modal auxiliaries.

Rohlfs also states that it expresses only imminent averted action. Our examples show that in Spanish it expresses not only an action that was imminent, yet averted before it actually took place, but also one that was imminent and actually did take place. The verb is in the mood and tense demanded by the writer's meaning and the laws of syntax.

Imminent Action

auer a

quando auien a lidiar, fazien los armar, e tomauan los en-

¹ Spanish Grail Fragments, ed. Pietsch, I, p. 65, line 16.

² Du Cange, Glossarium, IV, s.v. habere 1; Thielmann, pp. 167, 176, 178-179, 183, & 198; and Rohlfs, p. 145.

³ Rohlfs, p. 145, note 1.

possí en los cauallos (Cron., 23b18-19)

quando auie a entrar en batalla, tremie todo al comienço;
mas despues que en la fazienda entraua, dizen que muy
esforçado et muy fuerte era (Cron., 469a19)

quando ouo a morir, contol toda su fazienda en confession,
et rrogol que por amor de Dios quel metiesse en el abito
de Çistel en que prometiera de morir, et quel leuassen al
monesterio de Poblete a ssoterrar (Cron., 476a50, variant)

bien se daua a entender que les adeuinauan los coraçones
el mal que les auie a uenir et el qual les estaua apare-
iado et eran muy çerca dello (Cron., 608a20)

quando el Çid ouo a yr a las cortes a Toledo, acordo que
dexasse en Valençia quinientos caualleros fijos dalgo
(Cron., 614b45)

el rey don Fernando, desque ouo derribados estos castie-
llos a Diego Lopez et se ouo a ssalir, dexo y por frontero
a don Alfonso, su fijo, en Medina (Cron., 741a38-39)

auer de

que avemos de dannar este logar (Gen., XIX:13)

Eneas, mio marido; la razon quet yo enuio dezir es tal
cuemo el canto del cigno, que se tiende sobre la yerua
rociada e comiença de cantar un canto cuemo dolorido a
la sazón que a de morir (Cron., 39b45)

e pues que yo e de morir ¿a quien te acomendare o cuemo
te dexare a uida, cosa tan pequenna? (Cron., 135a20)

adolecio Costancio en Bretanna de muy fuert enfermedat; e
desque uio que auie de morir, fizo emperador a su fijo...
Et desí saliol ell alma del cuerpo (Cron., 180a36)

entonce sant Siluestre fizo ell officio que fazen a la
puerta de la yglesia al que an de batear (Cron., 184b29-30)

et desque uio que aurie de morir della, algo por empera-
dores a . . . sus fijos . . . E desí murio ell emperador
(Cron., 197a29)

quando se ouieron de tornar los mandaderos pora Carlos,
dioles el moro muchos dones que troxiesen (Cron., 350a17)

Averted Imminent Action

auer a

auino una uegada que yendo a una mugier casada con qui
yazie, no cuydando el marido que era ell emperador, diol
tan grand ferida, que ouiera a morir della. E dalli ade-
lante numque oso a tal ora andar por la uilla sin grand
companna de senadores que iuan armados aguardando lo de
lexos (Cron., 123a25)

el capitulo de como Roy Blasquez menazo a Munno Salido et se ouieran a matar¹ y unos a otros (Cron., 437a28, chapter heading)

a cabo de los dos annos, acaescio vna muy grant desauentura por la qual se ouo el Cid a perder² con ellos (Cron., 602b48)

Aben Alahmar rey de Ariona . . . vino con grant poder et cerco a la condesa en Martos et començola a combater muy de rezio. Et ouiera a entrar³ la penna; et esto podiera el fazer de ligero, ssaluo ende el poder de Dios que salua et defende et acorre a sus creyentes (Cron., 738a1)

These examples show clearly that as an expression of imminence auer a is further developed than auer de. Auer de is found only in subordinate clauses and does not express averted imminence, a development that did come later as our example from the Spanish Grail Fragments shows, though even here the writer felt the need of putting the adverbial phrase a pocas with it.

CONCLUSION

Summing up the results of our investigation, the evidence seems to show that the original and popular form of this expression of necessity was habeo cantare, and that this has been largely replaced by cantare habeo, which is apparently a literary form. When these forms became too weak as an expression of necessity, they were replaced by habere ad plus infinitive. The original of habere ad plus infinitive is habere ad plus the gerund. Habere de plus infinitive is simply an encroachment of the de-infinitive on the territory of the a-infinitive, an encroachment which was particularly favored, if not suggested, by the habere plus a noun plus de plus infinitive constructions.

Regarding the position of the auxiliary with respect to

¹ See above, p. 101, note 4.

² See above, p. 102, note 2.

³ See above, p. 102, note 1.

the infinitive, with few exceptions it regularly precedes. The union between the two parts of the construction is rather loose, for various sorts of complements stand between them. The union between the preposition and the infinitive is much closer. We found just one case where an atonic pronoun stood between the two. And since this instance occurred in connection with auer de plus infinitive, this is one more proof that auer de had not gone as far in its development as auer a plus infinitive.

Both auer a and auer de are still used mostly in subordinate clauses, for they are primarily modal auxiliaries. But since they are modal auxiliaries, they are usually in the indicative. This accounts for the fact that it is hard to find them as flec-tional auxiliaries in the tenses of the subjunctive. In this respect, they follow the development of cantare habeo studied by Thielmann, which accounts in large measure for the fact that in the Romance languages we so often find a verb in the indicative, particularly in the future and conditional, where Latin required the subjunctive.

Our examples of auer plus infinitive are too few in number to draw any valid conclusions from them. We do find it used to express necessity, future time, and as a flectional auxiliary.

Auer a plus infinitive is the most used and the most highly developed of the three constructions in the period we studied. It expresses various shades from strong to mild necessity, future time, and is the most highly developed as a flectional auxiliary, for it shows the various shades of meaning better than auer de plus infinitive, and is used with greater freedom to express imminent action.

Auer de plus infinitive, being the most recent of the three constructions, is apparently a stronger, more definite and

precise locution than auer a plus infinitive; the adverbial phrase por fuerça is seldom used with it. It, too, expresses the various shades of necessity from strong to mild. It expresses future time and is used as a flectional auxiliary. But as a flectional auxiliary, it is much more difficult to find clear and decisive instances of it than is the case with auer a. In the matter of imminent action, it expresses only the action that was imminent and actually took place, and in this usage occurs only in subordinate clauses.

The most frequent uses of these three constructions are to express necessity, future time, and the preterit in their use as a flectional auxiliary. As an expression of future time, they are not fully developed for they do not show all the uses of the future, as for example the future and conditional expressing probability. The conditional is still only a past future. As a flectional auxiliary, they come up most frequently as a preterit. Next in frequency is the imperfect indicative, due probably to the fact that these two tenses were not always sharply distinguished.

As a flectional auxiliary, we do not find many cases where it represents a present indicative. This would be too likely to be considered a future. Our best illustrations show it in the if-clause of a future more vivid condition. But even here it is only apparently a present tense because the rules of syntax make it such; psychologically considered, it is a present standing for the future.

Since, as a flectional auxiliary, we do not find these constructions in any of the compound tenses, we consider this a carry-over into the synthetic tense forms of the way the compound forms are built up, with the auxiliary or the form of flection preceding the form that is to be inflected.

As an expression of imminence, we have pointed out that this is not a development of late Medieval Latin or the early Romance languages, but that it is found early in the construction hsbere plus infinitive, and simply survives in a further development in some of the Romance territory. All of Thielmann's examples of this construction show habere in the present tense. Rohlf's found it so used only in the preterit in what he terms Lower Italian and Leonese. These facts lead one to conclude that in Spanish auer a and auer de in this construction are further developed than elsewhere, for our examples show auer in the present, imperfect, preterit, conditional, and the ra-form of the imperfect subjunctive. Most of them are in a past tense, a condition to be expected in view of the fact that all but one of these examples come from a chronicle of past events. And since vouloir and devoir in French, and querer in Spanish, are also used to express imminent action, this is just another phase in the development of the modal auxiliaries.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Including the Abbreviations Frequently Used

- Acad., Dicc.: Academia Española, Real. Diccionario de la lengua española, ed. 15, Madrid, 1925; also the reviews of the same by Américo Castro, Revista de Filología Española, XII (1925), 403-409, and Alejandro Quijano, El Consultor Bibliográfico, I (1925), 438-463.
- Academia Española, Real. Diccionario de la lengua castellana, ed. 14, Madrid, 1914; also the review of the same by A. Castro, Revista de Filología Española, II (1915), 52-55.
- Acad., Gram.: Academia Española, Real. Gramática de la lengua española, nueva edición, reformada, Madrid, 1928.
- Aguado, José María. Glosario sobre Juan Ruiz, Madrid, 1929.
- Alemany Selfa, Bernardo. "Una Perífrasis homérica que hoy tiene exacta equivalencia en valenciano y en catalán, y la tuvo también en el castellano antiguo," Estudios eruditos in memoriam de Adolfo Bonilla y San Martín, I, Madrid, 1927, pp. 631-638.
- Alixandre, El Libro de. Manuscrit de Paris, . . . publié par Alfred Morel-Fatio, Dresden, 1906.
- ALLG: Archiv für lateinische Lexikographie und Grammatik.
- Alonso, Amado. "Español 'como que' y 'cómo que,'" Revista de Filología Española, XII (1925), 133-156.
- Altamira y Crevea, Rafael. Historia de España y de la civilización española, ed. 3, I, Barcelona, 1913.
- Apolonio, Libro de. Ed. by C. Carroll Marden, II: Grammar, Notes, and Vocabulary, Princeton & Paris, 1922.
- Appel, Carl. Provenzalische Chrestomathie, ed. 5, Leipzig, 1920.
- Armstrong, Edward C. Syntax of the French Verb, ed. 3, New York, [1927].
- Baist, Gottfried. "Die spanische Sprache," Grundriss der romanischen Philologie, I, ed. 2, Strassburg, 1904-1906, pp. 878-915.
- Beardsley, Wilfred A. Infinitive Constructions in Old Spanish, New York, 1921; also the review of the same by F. Courtney Tarr, Modern Language Notes, XXXVIII (1923), 103-108.

- Beinhauer, Werner. *Spanische Umgangssprache*, Berlin u. Bonn, 1930.
- Bello, Andrés. *Análisis ideológica de los tiempos de la conjugación castellana*, Madrid, 1891 (Obras de Andrés Bello: *Opúsculos gramaticales*, II, 7-98).
- Bello-Cuervo: Bello, Andrés. *Gramática de la lengua castellana*, ed. 22, hecha sobre la última del autor con extensas notas y copiosos índices alfabéticos de Rufino José Cuervo, Paris, 1925.
- Berceo. *Milagros de Nuestra Señora*, ed. A. G. Solalinde, Madrid, 1922.
- Berceo, Gonzalo de. *Sacrificio de la misa*, ed. Antonio G. Solalinde, Madrid, 1913.
- Biblia medieval romanceada, I: *Pentateuco*, ed. Américo Castro, Agustín Milares Carlo y Angel Battistessa, Buenos Aires, 1927.
- Biblia vulgata latina, La. Traducida al español por Felipe Scio de San Miguel, novísima segunda edición trasladada . . . de la tercera y además cotejada con la edición romana de 1593, I & II, Madrid, 1850.
- Blanc, L. G. *Grammatik der italienischen Sprache*, Halle, 1844.
- Brunot, Ferdinand. *Histoire de la langue française dès origines à 1900*, I, Paris, 1905.
- Caballero, Fernán. *La Familia de Alvarada*, ed. by William Samuel Hendrix and Ernest Herman Hespelt, Boston, [1928].
- Carus, Paul. "The Idea of Necessity: Its Basis and Its Scope," *Monist*, III (1892), 68-96.
- Castro, Américo: see Acad., *Dicc.*, and Academia Española, Real. Catholic Encyclopedia, The. II, New York, [1907].
- Cejador y Frauca, Julio. *La Lengua de Cervantes*, I: *Gramática*, Madrid, 1905.
- Clark, Charles Upson, and Game, Josiah Bethea. *Medieval and Late Latin Selections*, Chicago, [1925].
- Cornu, J. "Recherches sur la conjugaison espagnole au XIII^e et XIV^e siècle," *Miscellanea di filologia e linguistica in memoria di Napoleone Caix e Ugo Angelo Canello*, Firenze, 1886, pp. 217-229.
- Covarrubias: *Cartulario del Infantado de Covarrubias por el R. P. Don Luciano Serrano*, Valladolid, 1907 (Fuentes para la historia de Castilla, II).
- Cron.: *Primera Crónica General* . . . publicada por Ramón Menéndez Pidal, Madrid, 1906.

- Cuervo, Rufino José. Apuntaciones críticas sobre el lenguaje bogotano, ed. 6, Paris, 1914.
- Cuervo, R. J. Diccionario de construcción y régimen de la lengua castellana, I, Paris, 1886; II, Paris, 1893.
- Deu.: Deuterónimo in Biblia medieval romanceada.
- Diez, Friedrich. Grammatik der romanischen Sprachen, drei Theile in einem Band, ed. 5, Bonn, 1882.
- Diez Mandamientos: "Textes castillans inédits, III: De los Diez Mandamientos," ed. Alfred Morel-Fatio, Romania, XVI (1887), 379-382.
- Doc. ling.: Ramón Menéndez Pidal, Documentos lingüísticos de España, I: Reino de Castilla, Madrid, 1919.
- Documentos de tierra de León: in R. Menéndez Pidal, Orígenes del español, pp. 27-32.
- Du Cange, Carolus. Glossarium mediae et infimae latinitatis, IV, Niort, 1885, pp. 148-149, s. v. habere.
- Enciclopedia universal ilustrada europeo-americana, III, Barcelona, n. d.
- Eslonza: Cartulario del monasterio de Eslonza, publicado por V[icente] V[ignau], Madrid, 1885.
- Exo.: Exodo in Biblia medieval romanceada.
- Fernan González, Poema de. Texto crítico, con introducción, notas y glosario por C. Carroll Marden, Baltimore, 1904.
- Fernández Llera, Victor. Gramática y vocabulario del Fuero Juzgo, Madrid, 1929; also the review of the same by Rafael Lapesa, Revista de Filología Española, XVII (1930), 295-297.
- Filzi, Mario. "Contributo alla sintassi dei dialetti italiani," Studj Romanzi, XI (1914), 5-92.
- Fitz-Gerald, John D. The Versification of the Cuaderna Via as found in Berceo's Vida de Santo Domingo de Silos, New York, 1905.
- Foerster, Paul. Spanische Sprachlehre, Berlin, 1880.
- Gamillscheg, Ernest. Studien zur Vorgeschichte einer romanischen Tempuslehre, Wien, 1913.
- Gen.: Génesis in Biblia medieval romanceada.
- Gessner, E. "Das spanische Personalpronomen," Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie, XVII (1893), 1-54.
- Gildersleeve-Lodge: Gildersleeve's Latin Grammar, ed. 3 by B. L. Gildersleeve and Gonzalez Lodge, Boston, 1907.
- Gillet, J. E.: see Spanish ~~Gram~~ Fragments.

- Glosas Silenses: in R. Menéndez Pidal, *Orígenes del español*, pp. 10-27.
- Gougenheim, Georges. *Etude sur les périphrases verbales de la langue française*, Paris, 1929.
- Grandgent, C. H. *Introducción al latín vulgar*, traducida del inglés, adicionada por el autor, corregida y aumentada con notas, prólogo y una antología por Francisco de B. Moll, Madrid, 1928.
- Hanssen, Federico. *Gramática histórica de la lengua castellana*, Halle a. S., 1913.
- Hanssen, Federico. *Dos Problemas de sintaxis*, Santiago de Chile, 1907 (Reprint from *Anales de la Universidad (Santiago de Chile)*, CXXI (1907), 408ff.).
- Henríquez Ureña, P. *La Versificación irregular de la poesía castellana*, Madrid, 1920.
- Hofmann, J. B. *Lateinische Umgangssprache*, Heidelberg, 1926.
- Kany, C. E. "Cinco sainetes inéditos de don Ramón de la Cruz con otro a él atribuido," *Revue Hispanique*, LX (1924), 40-186.
- Kühner, Raphael. *Ausführliche Grammatik der lateinische Sprache*, II, ed. 2 von Carl Stegmann, Hannover, 1912.
- Lanchetas, Rufino. *Gramática y vocabulario de las obras de Gonzalo de Berceo*, Madrid, 1900.
- Lapesa, Rafael: see Fernández Llera, Victor.
- Larsen, J. K. *Studier over oldspanske Konjunktiver*, København og Kristiania, 1910.
- Lenz, Rodolfo. *La Oración y sus partes*, ed. 2, Madrid, 1925.
- Lerch, Eugen. *Die Verwendung des romanischen Futurums als Ausdruck eines sittlichen Sollens*, Leipzig, 1919.
- Lev.: *Levítico in Biblia medieval romanceada*.
- Liljequist, Gustaf. *Infinitiven i det fornspanske Lagspråket*, Lund, 1886.
- Mair, Alexander W. "Seneca, Annaeus," *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, ed. 14, London & New York, [1929], XX, p. 323, col. 1.
- Menéndez Pidal, Ramón. *Antología de prosistas castellanos*, [ed. 2], Madrid, 1917.
- Menéndez Pidal, R. *Cantar de Mio Cid*, texto, gramática y vocabulario, I, Madrid, 1908; II & III, Madrid, 1911.
- Menéndez Pidal, R. *Orígenes del español*, ed. 2, Madrid, 1929.
- Meyer-Lübke, Wilhelm. *Grammatik der romanischen Sprachen*, II: *Romanische Formenlehre*, Leipzig, 1894; III: *Romanische*

Syntax, Leipzig, 1899.

Meyer-Lübke, Wilhelm. "Die lateinische Sprache in den romanischen Ländern," Grundriss der romanischen Philologie, I, ed. 2, Strassburg, 1904-1906, pp. 451-497.

Morel-Fatio, A. "Recherches sur le texte et les sources du Libro de Alexandre," Romania, IV (1875), 7-90.

MLN: Modern Language Notes.

MP: Modern Philology.

Muller, Henri F., and Taylor, Pauline. A Chrestomathy of Vulgar Latin, Boston, [1932].

Navarro Tomás, T. "Palabras sin acento," Revista de Filología Española, XII (1925), 335-375.

Nebrija, Gramática de la lengua castellana (Salamanca, 1492), ed. Ig. González Llubera, Oxford, 1926.

Num.: Números in Biblia medieval romanceada.

Old Testament, The, an American translation by Alexander R. Gordon, Theophile J. Meek, J. M. Powis Smith, Leroy Waterman, edited by J. M. Powis Smith, Chicago, [1927].

Paris, Gaston. "Friederich (sic) Diez," Philologie française, publ. et annotée par Kr. Nyrop, ed. 2, Paris, 1915, pp.1-9.

Quijano, Alejandro: see Acad., Dicc.

Rajna, Pio. "Un Indovinello volgare scritto alla fine del secolo VIII o al principio del IX," Speculum, III (1928), 291-313.

Ramsey, Marathon Montrose. A Text-book of Modern Spanish, ed. 3, New York, n. d.

Rev. Hisp.: Revue Hispanique.

RFE: Revista de Filología Española.

Richardson, Henry B. An Etymological Vocabulary to the Libro de Buen Amor, New Haven, 1930.

Richter, Elise: see Rohlfs, Gerhard.

Rodríguez Marín, Francisco. Un Millar de voces castizas y bien autorizadas que piden lugar en nuestro léxico, Madrid, 1920.

Rohlfs, Gerhard. "Das romanische habeo-Futurum und Konditionalis," Archivum Romanicum, VI (1922), 105-154; also the review of the same by Elise Richter, Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie, XLIV (1924), 91-96.

Roszbach, O. "Annaeus, 16. L. Annaeus Seneca," Paulys Real Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft, neue Bearbeitung, herausgegeben von Georg Wissowa, I, zweiter Halbband, Stuttgart, 1894, cols. 2237-2240.

- Ruiz, Juan. *Libro de buen amor*, ed. Jean Ducamin, Toulouse, 1901.
- Salvá, Vicente. *Gramática de la lengua castellana según ahora se habla*, ed. 12, Paris, 1897.
- Schanz, Martin. *Geschichte der römischen Literatur*, zweiter Teil, erste Hälfte, ed. 3, München, 1911.
- Seifert, Eva. "Die beiden Verben *habere* und *tenere* in der alt-spanischen *Danza de la Muerte*," *Festschrift für Carl Appel* = *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie*, XLVII (1927), 514-522.
- Seifert, Eva. "'Haber' y 'Tener' como expresiones de posesión en español," *Revista de Filología Española*, XVII (1930), 233-276 & 345-389.
- Spanish Grail Fragments, ed. by Karl Pietsch, I: Texts, Chicago, [1924]; II: Commentary, Chicago, [1925]; also the review of the same by J. E. Gillet, *Modern Philology*, XXIV (1926-1927), 355-361.
- Spaulding, Robert K. "History and Syntax of the Progressive Constructions in Spanish," *University of California Publications in Modern Philology*, XIII (1926), 229-284.
- Spitzer, Leo. "Ueber das *Futurum cantare habeo*," *Aufsätze zur romanischen Syntax und Stilistik*, Halle a. S., 1918, pp. 173-180.
- Stolz-Schmalz, *Lateinische Grammatik: Laut- und Formenlehre, Syntax und Stilistik*, ed. 5 von Manu Leumann und Joh. Bapt. Hofmann, München, 1928.
- Subak, Jul. "Zum Judenspanischen," *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie*, XXX (1906), 129-185.
- Tarr, F. Courtney: see Beardsley, Wilfred A.
- Thielmann, Ph. "*Habere* mit dem Infinitiv und die Entstehung des romanischen *Futurums*," *Archiv für lateinische Lexikographie und Grammatik*, II (1885), 48-89 & 157-202; III (1886), 532.
- Unamuno, Miguel de. "*La Enseñanza del latín en España*," *Ensayos*, II, Madrid, 1916, pp. 9-45.
- Viñaza, El Conde de la. *Biblioteca histórica de la filología castellana*, Madrid, 1893.
- Vockeradt, Heinrich. *Lehrbuch der italienischen Sprache*, I: Grammatik der italienischen Sprache, Berlin, 1878.
- Wiggers, Julius. *Grammatik der spanischen Sprache*, ed. 2, Leipzig, 1884.
- Zauner, Adolf. *Altspanisches Lesebuch*, ed. 2, Heidelberg, 1921.
- ZRPh: *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie*.

